

NEW TIMES

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BUDAPEST, JUNE 1986

GRAPPLING WITH RADIATION

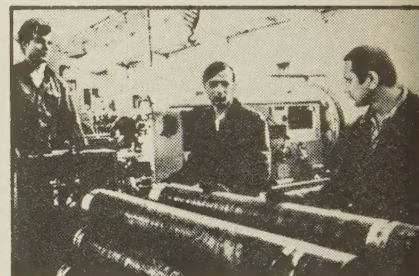
It is easier to fight danger when you can see and hear what threatens you. As distinct from fire, avalanches or floods, radiation can be neither seen nor heard. But the threat to human life it contains is fearsome.

As soon as the situation at the Chernobyl nuclear power station was brought under control another and no less complicated task came to the fore—the complete decontamination with all speed of the station and adjacent territories. For the radiation level was still

high. To enable the evacuated inhabitants to return home as soon as possible a broad programme was launched for the decontamination of the station and the settlement, buildings and installations as well as streets and the power workers' cars that had been left there.

Decontamination stations have been set up around the entire 30 kilometre zone. No vehicle can pass these points without the driver's trip ticket being stamped to show the car has been treated. And

sometimes the treatment has to be repeated several times. The vehicle is doused with a special solution and then thoroughly brushed, the used water being drained off into reservoirs from which it is removed to radioactive waste dumps.



Cars being decontaminated. ● Attacking the invisible foe from the air. ● The radiation level goes down 5 per cent every day. ● Orders for Chernobyl are fulfilled without delay. ● Lieutenant Valery Velichkevich on duty at the power station.

Photos by V. Ankov
(Krasnaya Zvezda)
and TASS

SOCIALISM POINTS THE WAY

In June 1941 the nazi armies invaded our country, bent on wiping the world's first socialist state off the face of the earth. At the cost of enormous sacrifice the Soviet people not only defended their own country, but helped many enslaved peoples gain their freedom. Today one third of mankind lives under the banner of socialism, and millions elsewhere associate with the socialist world their hopes of progress and the triumph of justice.

The socialist world is now at an epochal juncture in its development. History has faced the fraternal countries with the need to carry socialist society to new heights, to make fuller use of its advantages, to enrich our way of life with ever new facets. On this depends socialism's force of attraction, the strengthening of its international positions and hence also the outlook for peace.

The CPSU and the entire Soviet people have accepted the challenge of the time. Our strategic objective is acceleration of the country's socio-economic development. A bold, pioneering approach to international affairs is increasingly asserting itself. That approach is shaped in the process of collective examination of world issues together with our allies and friends. Of particular importance in this are meetings of top party and government leaders of the fraternal countries.

Accelerated solution of the complex tasks posed by the time calls for close interaction between the socialist countries. That cooperation within the framework of the Warsaw Treaty and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance has latterly made signal headway is encouraging. But it is also clear that it should be carried to a still higher plane. "Not by a notch or two," Mikhail Gorbachev said at the 11th Congress of the SUPG in Berlin, "but as the mathematicians say, by a whole order of magnitude." The decisions of party forums held in the fraternal countries call on the Communists, all working people, further to cement the unity of the socialist community.

Engaged in creative endeavour, our peoples are at one in their striving to do their utmost to build a world based on civilized relations among peoples. Added testimony to this are our country's latest initiatives -- in particular, the prolongation until August 6 of the moratorium on nuclear weapon tests and proposals for reducing armaments and strengthening security in Europe.

FROM OUR MAILBAG

Our whole family considers it highly important that the Soviet Union has again prolonged the moratorium on nuclear tests. In these circumstances Washington's latest tests show an utter disregard for the vital interests of peoples. World public opinion has been given further proof of where the real threat to peace comes from.

Dietrich KADOW
Wolgast, G.D.R.

I offer my profound sympathy to all Soviet people who suffered as a result of the accident at the Chernobyl atomic power station. I do not think that the Soviet government is deliberately concealing important information about the nature of the accident, as some people assert. We must not commit the folly of accusing the Soviet government of hiding unpleasant facts. Nor should we avail ourselves of the opportunity to damage the prestige of the Soviet Union. Let us be more patient and understanding. What happened at Chernobyl could happen to us too.

Isao ASHIBA
Tokyo, Japan

Washington policy-makers assure the world that the armed attack on Libya was a "punishment for terrorist acts." More, it is even said that Libya allegedly presents a threat to the security of the United States. How! Have the Libyans bombed U.S. cities, shot down U.S. passenger planes or killed American children! I ask this not of Soviet people—they know the truth. But I should like to hear what Americans and English people think on this score.

Y. SAMSONOV
Maikop, U.S.S.R.

NEW TIMES

A SOVIET WEEKLY
OF WORLD AFFAIRS

HOBOE
ВРЕМЯ

TEMPS
NOUVEAUX

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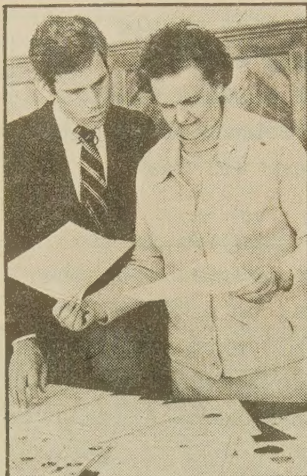
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with a Backgarden

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Gellert Hill.

Photo
by Anatoly Garanin



Dr GALE and Dr GUSKOVA:

WE WERE OF THE SAME OPINION

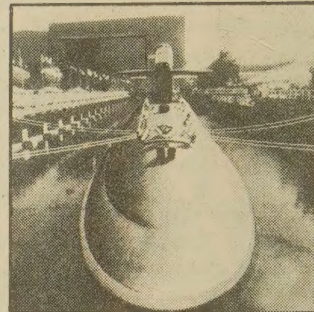
Professor Robert Gale of the United States and Professor Angelina Guskova, who heads the team of Soviet doctors treating the Chernobyl victims, have visited New Times. Dr Gale brought us letters and drawings by Los Angeles schoolchildren expressing their sympathy with Soviet people.

International cooperation of physicians, their successes and problems, and their views regarding the nuclear danger facing mankind are discussed on

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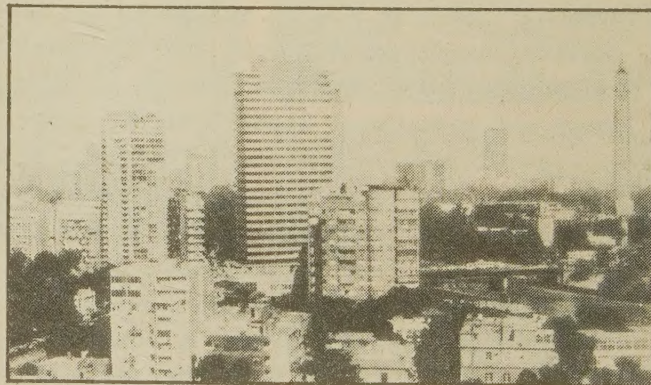
SALT-2 UNDER ATTACK

"Of all the courses of action it could take with regard to treaties and agreements limiting strategic arms, the U.S. Administration has adopted the one that undermines the very foundation of the process of limiting and reducing such armaments. Faced with the alternative of either moderating its own armament programmes or opening the floodgates to an uncontrolled arms race, the U.S. has chosen



the latter course," a Soviet government statement says. You will find the report of our New York correspondent on

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MEGALOPOLIS ON THE NILE

The roots of the drastic social differentiation in Egypt should be sought in the "open doors" policy Sadat launched to destroy the revolutionary democratic regime establish-

ed by Nasser, and in Egypt's separate deal with Israel.

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Editor-in-Chief: VITALY IGNATENKO

Associate Editors: L. BEZYMENSKY, V. CHERNYAYSKY, S. GOLYAKOV, Y. GUDKOV,
A. LEBEDEV, A. PIN, B. PISHCHIK, V. TSOPPI, D. VOLSKY.

Design by A. GARAMIN

Editor of English edition: E. SMIRNOV

The Formula for Acceleration

EVALD FIGURNOV, D. Sc. (Econ.)

The 27th CPSU Congress made it clear that further acceleration of the country's socio-economic progress would be impossible without a profound restructuring of the entire economic mechanism.

What has happened to the economic structure of the Soviet state? Why does the existing system of management not permit a full exploitation of the advantages socialism offers?

In prewar years we corroborated in practice the Marxist-Leninist thesis to the effect that socialist production relations make it possible to develop productive forces and improve welfare standards faster than private property relations do. When the capitalist world was in the throes of the worst economic crisis ever, our country's national economy grew at a rate of about 10 per cent a year. We were the world's first country to put an end to unemployment. As we got richer, the good things of life we produced were distributed in accordance with the basic principle of socialism—to each according to his work, not according to his capital investment.

Socialism manifested its superiority in economic growth potential throughout the postwar years and this includes the past five-year period when the Soviet Union's national income increased by an average of 3.6 per cent a year as against the U.S. figure of 2.5 per cent. However, the advantages of the socialist system cannot exist as independent entities. They are realized through the appropriate system of economic management. Admittedly, our potential for growth has not been made full use of over the past fifteen years, because the present economic management system, which goes back to the thirties, is not up to modern requirements.

In the 1930s the U.S.S.R. carried out industrialization, formed the collective farm system, conducted a cultural revolution and trained skilled research personnel. It goes without saying that the scale of economic development was much more modest, and economic links were less ramified than they are today. This made it possible (and even imperative, considering the professional standards of the personnel our industrial plants then employed) to centralize decision making.

Today the situation is different. Our industrial potential has grown im-

measurably. Economic links have become much more complex. Whereas in the 1930s our industrial output comprised about 100,000 items, at the most, today the figure runs into over 24 million. We now have hundreds of thousands of industrial plants and organizations as against a few thousand in the 1930s. Today's engineers and factory managers are capable of offering expert solutions, on their own, to vital problems involved in running a factory, an amalgamation or even an entire industry.

It should be borne in mind that it was easier to work in management in the past. Why? Because our national economy had resources for extensive development, the supply of labour was abundant, and raw materials were cheap. Now that labour is not as easily available and raw materials are becoming increasingly expensive, the intensification of production management is a top priority.

There is another important point to be taken into account—namely, that the majority of our most highly skilled experts are now directly engaged in production rather than in management.

All this has made it necessary to restructure the mechanism of economic management.

What Course to Take?

The current reforms have the purpose of improving the management of the basic industrial units—factories and production amalgamations—and, consequently, increasing their efficiency. It is the factories that cater for public needs. The ministries do not, of course, create good things of life. There is no need for an administrative body which does little if anything to increase the efficiency of the industrial plants for which it is responsible, let alone interferes with their work.

The Party congress set the economy the task of increasing the role of the centre in carrying out the basic objectives of the Party's economic strategy, and determining the rates and proportions of economic growth. At the same time, it is necessary to stop the practice of the centre interfering in the day-to-day activity of production units, change over to economically-substantiated methods of management at all levels, impart modern organizational

forms to management, and carry out its all-round democratization. These, as we see, are vast undertakings. Within only three months of the congress coming to a close, however, we have already gone quite a long way towards implementing its decisions.

Incentives

Let us now dwell in more detail on the important problem of making production units more independent and encouraging them to achieve optimum results. We have been working in this direction since as early as 1983. Industrial plants subordinated to two national ministries (electrical, heavy and transport engineering) and to three republican—light, food and local industry ministries—have been working in a new way since early 1984. The experiment proved a success, and since the beginning of 1985 factories responsible for as much as 12 per cent of the country's industrial output have been functioning on new economic principles. These principles, introduced at 50 per cent of Soviet industrial plants early this year, are to be extended to the rest of industry at the beginning of 1987. Post offices, everyday service facilities, river shipping lines, the motor transport services of several republics, and a number of railways have recently been transferred to a new system of economic management. These organizations now have more say in planning. The number of indices to be endorsed by the central authority has been reduced. Whereas previously the administrative bodies laid down the absolute volumes of output and production costs, now they can only set tentative ratios between production and outlay, as well as between production and bonuses—for instance, wage increments for each per cent of extra output, or incentives for each per cent of profit increase or cost reduction. All this stimulates the worker to produce more. Factories have been made freer to draw on their profits in providing incentives for efficient work. As for the wage fund, all of it remains at the factory, even if it is not used up.

The managers' right to reequip their factories has been extended substantially; now a much larger proportion of the profit goes into the pro-

duction development fund, and each factory draws up its own retooling schemes, layouts and specifications.

So far we have discussed an impressive extension of factories' and work collectives' rights. But there are no rights without duties. From now on factories will have greater material responsibility for the results of their work. If a factory violates contract terms, it will pay the forfeit from its own fund. High-quality products will fetch higher wholesale prices, while poor-quality ones will be sold at reduced prices, with the difference to be deducted from the workers' wages.

Speaking of the results these innovations have brought so far, I must say, first of all, that the delivery schedules agreed upon among industrial plants are now observed more punctually. Many ministries fulfil their delivery commitments one hundred per cent. There are indications that labour productivity is growing faster. In 1985, the plants of seven engineering ministries, operating on new principles, showed a 6.7 per cent rise in labour productivity as against the 5.5 per cent planned. The proportion of high-quality products in their total output has grown, and their cost has decreased.

Management Reform

It must be admitted that the new methods of management now being introduced have not yet brought all the reserves of production into play. We are to seek more effective ways of changing our factories and plants over to genuine cost-accounting and self-financing. We need an economic mechanism which would make every work collective responsible for the increment of public wealth, by making every worker's income dependent on it.

The experiment of putting the Volzhsky Motor Works and the Sumy Engineering Amalgamation on a self-financing basis has now been under way for over a year. These plants are free to spend their entire depreciation fund and part of their profits on retooling, while other plants can use only part of their depreciation funds for the purpose.

Another decision—on the improvement of planning, economic stimulation and the further improvement of consumer goods production management in light industry—has recently been adopted. From now on consumer goods production plans will depend on market requirements, and the profit made—minus deductions to the state budget and the bank—will go to the work collective.

Another important innovation—in the field of material supply, raw stuff, feedstock and tool distribution—is worthy of special note.

As from early next year research and design organizations in all industries and the factories subordinated to the Ministry of Building, Road and Communal Machinery will purchase whatever raw materials they need wholesale instead of receiving them from centralized stocks at fixed quotas, as was formerly the case. Furthermore, we seek to have industrial plants establish direct economic links among themselves on the basis of long-term contracts.

What effect will these innovations have on the managerial functions of central departments and ministries? After all, it is the work collective, and not the ministry, that now bears material responsibility for the end results of a factory's work! The central authorities will now concentrate on economic strategy, setting the rates and proportions of national economic growth and balancing it out.

The decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress demand that the scientific standard of planning be raised. This means that the plans should place greater emphasis on the indices related to production efficiency and that economically feasible production rates should be set and kept stable throughout a given five-year-plan period. This will provide an effective incentive to plan fulfilment. This is still not the case at the moment, when the levels achieved to date are used as a point of departure in further planning, with the result that planned production rates are getting higher and higher—often without sufficient economic grounds.

The ministries will have a different role to play. They are to concentrate on matters of technological policy, and ways of meeting the demand for their industries' products.

The past record shows that management at national level and at the level of individual industries should be combined with that at regional level so as to ensure the comprehensive development of the constituent republics and regions. Therefore, the rights of the republics and other local authorities are being broadened. This naturally imposes a greater responsibility on the local authorities for the efficiency of the regional economy.

So the basic production unit, the factory, and managing authorities are being accorded new rights and charged with new duties. What structural changes will industry undergo as a result? This will lead, first and foremost, to the enlargement of production and research-and-production amalgamations.

It is not always true that the larger an amalgamation the better it works. An amalgamation whose production units are far apart territorially and do not make up a closely-knit whole is

hardly viable. Small but well-equipped production units can meet the need for small-batch or separate items faster, make more efficient use of their work force (in small towns, especially), and respond to shifts in market demand more promptly. A differentiated approach is needed here. Today general management patterns are being revised at ministerial level, and intermediate administrative sections which have not proved their worth—such as national and republican industrial amalgamations—are being abolished. In the engineering industry this work has already been completed. In general a two-tier management system, factory/amalgamation—ministry, is being introduced.

Another novelty: special agencies are being formed to deal with problems of interbranch control. In the agro-industrial complex, the State Agro-Industrial Committee of the U.S.S.R. has been established, while the ministries of agriculture, fruit and vegetable farming, meat-packing and dairy industry, food industry, rural construction, and the State Committee for the Material and Technical Supply of Agriculture have been abolished. In addition to the engineering ministries, the Engineering Bureau has been set up under the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers to deal with the vital interbranch problems confronting the engineering complex. A similar bureau has been set up to serve the fuel-and-energy complex.

• • •

It is especially important today for the worker to feel he is master of his factory. It would be naive to suppose, however, that this feeling can be instilled in him with words alone. He must be placed in a situation where he develops a sense of personal responsibility for what his plant, his factory shop and his team are doing. The improvements we have just discussed do not only create just such a situation, but shape a new way of thinking as well.

All of us in the Soviet Union are collective owners of our factories' assets and output. However, the factories, factory shops and teams are run by their work collectives. It is now necessary to provide such objective economic conditions for them that will prompt the following line of reasoning: since our earnings directly depend on the quantity and quality of the products we make, on how much raw materials, feedstock and energy we save and on how efficiently we use our equipment, we must apply ourselves to our work and do it cost-effectively. This is the real way of combining an idea with our own interests—a combination the need for which was stressed by Marx.

Professors Robert Gale and Angelina Guskova on the medical and human aspects of the Chernobyl accident

Misfortune. Hope. Warning.

"I'm sorry about what happened. I'm also sorry I can't help. If I could help I'm sure I would."

This brief letter addressed to Mikhail Gorbachev and to all who suffered as a result of the Chernobyl accident was handed by the American schoolgirl Sarrah Tabbush to a classmate's father who had flown back home to Los Angeles from the Soviet Union for a few days and had found time to give a talk at the school about what he had seen there. His name is Dr Robert Gale, the first American doctor to come to the aid of Soviet people in their hour of need. He brought with him to our office a folder full of letters and drawings from Los Angeles schoolchildren who wanted in this way to give some pleasure to those in trouble and to speak of their horror of the disaster a nuclear war would spell for mankind. The first to see these letters was Professor Angelina Guskova, head of the Soviet medical team which is treating the Chernobyl victims. These two doctors, one American, the other Soviet, who are working together to fight one of the most fearsome afflictions known visited the editorial offices of New Times at our invitation. The following is a transcript of the talk that took place.

New Times: Please tell us something about yourself and your family, Dr Gale. Also about your professional career.

Dr Gale: I'm forty. I have a wife and three children — 2, 7 and 9, and we live in Los Angeles. I was born in New York. Went to University in New York, to medical school there. And I came to California to do my postgraduate training. I decided to do a Ph.D. in immunology. I stopped my medical training for some years and did laboratory work. I was interested in three related spheres — immunology, haematology and cancer. If you think about what specialty would combine all three, bone marrow transplantation would be a very logical combination of all of these.

New Times: What prompted you to decide to come to the Soviet Union at this difficult time?

Dr Gale: A number of things. We have these bone marrow transplants that we do — very, very rare procedures. Most of the world sends the data on these transplants to a single centre which is called the international bone marrow transplant registry and unites more than 130 centres in more than 60 countries. It is in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, and it is directed by representatives of the

27 major transplant centres. I am the chairman of this organization.

So that when I heard about the accident in Chernobyl I offered assistance on behalf of the other countries and the United States. Because it is very obvious that one of the major consequences is destruction of bone marrow. Incidentally, one of the first bone marrow transplants was done for exactly this reason — because of a nuclear reactor incident in Yugoslavia.

Dr Hammer is quite a friend of mine, and as we all know he has very close ties with your country. So I asked him to transmit our offer to Mr Gorbachev. We received an immediate consent to my departure for Moscow.

New Times: How did your family and colleagues react to your decision?

Dr Gale: Well, they didn't have very much time to think about it because the Soviet Embassy called me at 7:30 in the morning and by 15:30 I was already in the air to Moscow. But before I left Los Angeles I called a number of people around the world and asked them to prepare to come to the Soviet Union in case they would be needed. And so Dr Champlin, Dr Terasaki and other doctors were needed and they soon



Good physicians operate under the same thought process everywhere.

We showed the patients that we were of the same opinion.

came. I called some other people in Milwaukee and one of our computer centres in London and one of our computer bases in Seattle and asked them to be ready to respond to information we would send. The response from those people was very favourable. We contacted immediately the other centres and they were all in very strong agreement.

New Times: Was this the first time you had met Soviet doctors?

Dr Gale: No, I was here in 1978 as a guest of the International Congress of Genetics and at that time I met many Soviet physicians and scientists. We had a number of Soviet scientists in Los Angeles. So we had some contacts earlier, but this is the first time we worked together.

New Times: Did you find any specific difference between the treatment of patients in the Soviet Union and the United States? Was there anything you could learn from one another?

Dr Guskova: I believe that basically our transplant programmes coincide with those of our colleagues in the United States.

Dr Gale: Yes, our approaches are very much the same.



I assume that should the same thing happen in another country, Soviet physicians would make their resources promptly available to treat these patients.

Dr Guskova: At the same time we wanted to verify this not only through special medical literature but also through personal contacts. And so we discussed with Dr Gale not only what we proposed to do together, but what had been done before his arrival. We went over the entire group of patients in whose cases transplants were considered. And we found once again that we were in complete agreement in the selection of patients for whom this treatment was indicated. We were agreed also on the six operations that had already been performed by Soviet doctors. There are of course certain differences as regards medication, as well as dosages of one or another medicine, but these differences are no more than one finds among doctors of one and the same country. We have invariably arrived at common solutions, thanks in large measure to Dr Gale's great tact. Whenever some difficulty arose Dr Gale would always say: "You're the hosts, do as you think best." I must say that if we happened to be guests of Dr Gale's clinic we too most likely, without violating medical ethics, would defer to his opinion. This is not just a matter of relations between doctors. It is very important for the patients to see that their doctors are in agreement. And so we adhered to the principle of showing the patients that we were of the same opinion, the more so that, considering our mutual sympathy, both human and professional, this was not difficult.

Dr Gale: Good physicians, I would say, operate under the same psychological thought processes everywhere. A good doctor is always a good doctor, whether in the United States, the Soviet Union, or anywhere else. ... There may be slight technical differences, but the basic range of reactions is quite similar.

New Times: In the first days after the accident the local doctors were confronted with something completely new to them — radiation sickness. Besides, we know that a group of young doctors, Dr Guskova's pupils, went to the Ukraine. What is your opinion of their work?

Dr Guskova: Since all decisions on transplants and other treatment have to be taken as quickly as possible, it was very important to select from the large

group of people examined — people who had been exposed to radiation or simply frightened by what had happened—the few, let me repeat few, who really were in need of urgent and qualified medical aid. From this standpoint I would like to pay special tribute to my colleagues working on the spot. They were reinforced by specialists from Moscow who helped with the initial sorting out of patients. It was they who chose the 100 patients we later took under our care. I am happy to say that very few mistakes were made at the initial sorting-out stage.

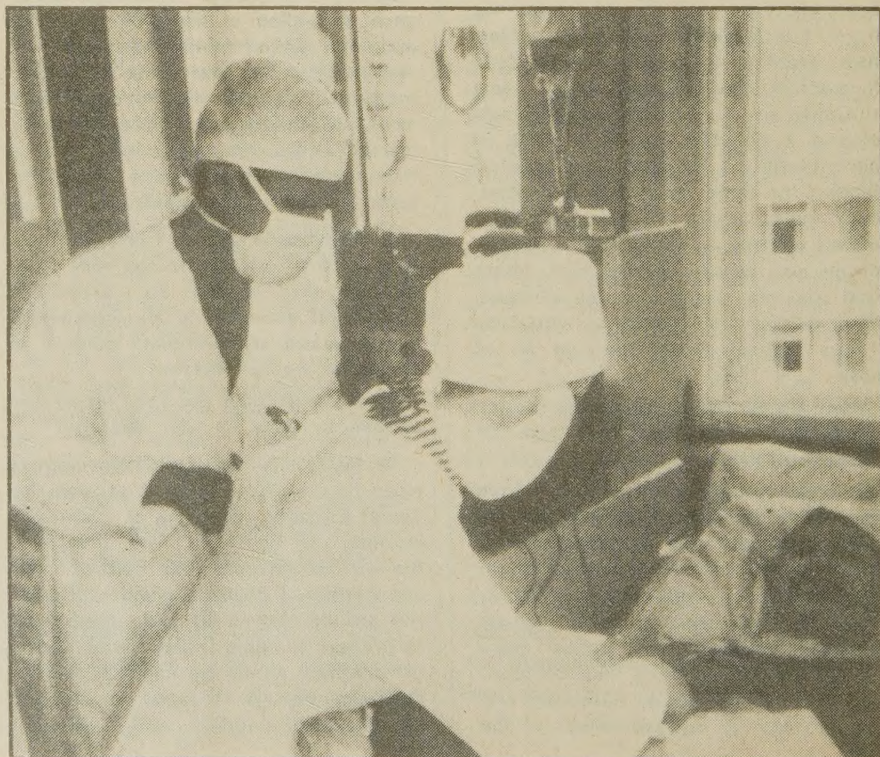
Later on Dr Gale and I selected 34 cases out of this group.

Dr Gale: 35 cases.

Dr Guskova: It was in these cases that the main question had to be answered: was bone marrow transplant needed or was it questionable that it would save the patient? These were our most serious cases. And we discussed all 35 together.

New Times: A month has passed since

Attending to a patient in hospital No. 6.



the operations. How are your patients progressing?

Dr Guskova: We are very carefully observing their condition.

Dr Gale: Well, you know, we don't want to discuss individual patients because we want to protect their rights as people.

New Times: Of course we understand your unwillingness to speak of individuals. But since the media often profess to be puzzled about why more details are not given, we would ask you to explain what prompts this attitude.

Dr Gale: Well, this is a general principle of medicine. We as physicians have to protect patients' personal rights, even though someone, perhaps with the best of motives, out of compassion for instance, is eager for the details. Dr Guskova and I want to be extremely honest: some are critical yet.

Dr Guskova: There are very few of these. And we are by no means losing hope.

Dr Gale: So we don't want publicly to discuss any one personally because it would be unfair to them.

Dr Guskova: We speak mainly of the living, of those who have benefited by the treatment. Not because Dr Gale and I shrink from speaking of our failures — we shall certainly examine them in detail in our medical publications. But we have to remember that our patients are anxiously following all that is being said on this question. We want to draw their attention precisely to our successes, to give them hope. It is our duty to strengthen their faith in doctors

because this will hasten their recovery.

Dr Gale: One of the dangers is that some of these patients could be watching television or reading your magazine. But to return to the figures: of the 300 people exposed to danger more than 90 per cent are alive. That is a great tribute to Dr Guskova and her colleagues, because we had to attend to all of these patients, we cannot just focus on the very grave ones. So they have done a very good job.

New Times: Some of our readers are interested in the details of bone marrow transplant operations. Are they done by one surgeon or several? And how long do they take?

Dr Gale: A transplant usually involves two surgeons. And in a number of instances we had a Soviet and an American doctor working together. So it was really not only intellectually binational effort. It was physically binational effort. We tried each one to do his best.

Dr Guskova: The bone marrow donors are under anaesthetic and one wants to "release" them as quickly as possible.

Dr Gale: Dr Baranov and I, I believe, set a record by doing one operation in about 45 minutes. It usually takes between one and two hours.

Dr Guskova: It depends on the patient.

Dr Gale: It depends on the skill of the surgeons.

New Times: Dr Gale, could you say a few words about your contacts with patients, not as a surgeon, but as a human being?

Dr Gale: Well, some of these people are very ill, and I think it is very difficult to deal with very ill patients. There has been the language difficulty, but in the last few days we were able to speak to them a little bit more. Some of them are feeling better. I believe we have established good relations with them. I brought with me from the United States some presents for some of the patients—picture books—pictures of the Soviet impressionist art exhibition that is now touring Washington. And some of the Soviet patients gave me gifts for my children. I think they appreciate the fact that the world is interested in their welfare.

Dr Guskova: Our patients like the foreign doctors very much. They wanted to know when Dr Gale would come again and how many children he has, and said they would like to send them something.

New Times: How would you evaluate your experience in cooperation with Soviet doctors? What does it contribute to medical science?

Dr Gale: Firstly, we helped those who suffered. The people we treated at Hospital No. 6 together with Drs Guskova,

Vorobyev and Baranov, and those who have been entered in the U.S.S.R. national transplant centre register, will now evidently be included in the international registry. There are also longer-term results. I have discussed with top officials of the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Health the outlook for our cooperation for many years ahead. We hope to combine all bone transplant registers—American, Soviet and European. Because if the donor pool is to be effective, it should have a minimum of 100,000 donors. And that calls for joint effort.

New Times: Have you considered the possibility of publishing joint scientific papers?

Dr Guskova: We are drawing up plans for coming scientific summaries. Analysis of the material on hand is extremely difficult. We have time to discuss no more than four case histories in the course of a working day. So I think a thorough analysis would take three or four months.

In the event of nuclear war... we would not be able to apply our ability and knowledge, to fulfil our medical duty.



Dr Gale: Yes, not less.

Dr Guskova: We are now considering which of the participants in the international team will do which part of the work. Then we will collect the texts and generalize them. These will be our joint and also separate publications. I believe the first fundamental articles will be signed jointly.

Dr Gale: We think such an accident could happen anywhere. We hope it won't of course. But it is important that physicians know of all of our successes and all of our problems and, more important, that the data appears in scientific literature.

New Times: Could you cite any other instances of international cooperation among doctors?

Dr Guskova: We work together very well with our colleagues from different countries in the international Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation. We meet also American physicians there. One of the papers on acute radiation injuries which is to be published soon we are preparing together with French, British and Italian scientists. It is hardly possible for any

country to tackle such complex problems alone. Incidentally, we would advise U.S. radiologists to consult more often with Dr Gale. It sometimes happens that we don't know about our own colleagues at home until we hear about them from others.

Dr Gale: If you are looking for areas of cooperation you should mention that we have long-standing, very extensive collaboration in the studies of cancer and cardiovascular diseases.

New Times: Dr Guskova is a co-author of a book on the possible consequences of nuclear war. And you, Dr Gale, are not only an M.D., but also a Ph.D. What conclusions have you drawn, apart from purely professional experience, from the events of the past month?

Dr Gale: I wouldn't go beyond saying that this would serve as an indication that the medical ability to respond to nuclear accident is limited. Even

with international resources, even with the experience of Dr Guskova and her colleagues, and even with a very small number of patients. Because it's just not bone marrow that is damaged, but also tissues that cannot be corrected. So we have to be thankful that the accident was relatively small. We should put aside any notion that the medical community could respond to much larger accidents. Therefore we should put to rest any concept that there could be an adequate medical response to the intentional use of nuclear weapons.

Dr Guskova: Dr Gale and I have spoken of how much effort had to be exerted to render effective aid to so small number of patients. For each patient some 20 medical personnel are needed.

In the event of nuclear war the ratio might be the reverse. And for this reason we would not be able to apply our ability and knowledge, to fulfil what we consider our medical duty. Even if we should remain alive, which is not very likely.

New Times: In Hiroshima, about 90

per cent of all doctors were killed at once.

Dr Guskova: Right. As like as not we would share the fate of our patients. As Dr Gale has said, we medical workers are aware of the gravity of the problem more than anyone else. Moreover, Dr Gale surely wants his three children to grow in a safe, friendly world.

New Times: Our last question might seem somewhat naive. In one of our coming issues we propose to publish a series of interviews with foreign science fiction writers about how they visualize the world in the 21st century. Will it be a century of joint space expeditions and cooperation in general? How do you visualize the future of your profession?

Dr Guskova: Dr Gale and I are very down-to-earth people.

Dr Gale: Yes... In a certain way it is not really necessary to refer to science fiction. I mean we are to some extent in that situation already. When I came to the Soviet Union we had the agreement of 15 countries to receive Soviet patients, that is, if the number of patients that needed transplants would exceed the capabilities of Soviet transplant facilities. Fortunately, this was not necessary. And I assume that should the same thing happen in another country, Soviet physicians would make their resources promptly available to treat those patients. If we link up all the donor pools of the world, a Muscovite with the appropriate tissue type could well become a donor for a bone marrow transplant in Western Europe. This is already practically the reality.

Dr Guskova: We are not thinking of setting up hospitals in outer space. Let them be located on Earth, but open to international cooperation. In my opinion, we have in a certain sense been working for the future, have sensed what it means to work in cooperation with others, with a vast, friendly world concerned for the well-being of the afflicted.

Interviewers: V. GALIN,
L. YELIN,
G. SIDOROVA

Photos by V. Panov and
Dr Terasaki
(Courtesy of A. Guskova)

U.S.A.

By virtually reneging on its commitments under the SALT-2 treaty, the United States is

Opening the Floodgates to the Arms Buildup

Both the American public and world opinion were taken by surprise by the White House statement that "in the future the United States must base decisions regarding its strategic force structure on the nature and magnitude of the threat posed by Soviet strategic forces, and not on standards contained in the SALT-2 agreement of 1979 or the SALT interim offensive agreement of 1972." This was followed by an enumeration of alleged Soviet violations of these and other agreements. The supposed "violations" include the Krasnoyarsk radar installation, coding of telemetric information from missiles undergoing tests, and new types of missiles.

The didactic, categorical tone of the statement and the cynicism with which it distorts the facts alarmed even the United States' allies. At the NATO foreign ministers' conference held at the time in Canada, none of them ventured publicly to support the Washington position. More, it became known that even at closed sessions of the conference the Americans failed to obtain the approbation of the NATO allies. Reagan's "new concept" was too provocative and odious.

The Soviet Union can hardly terminate violations it has not committed. In the NATO capitals and, of course, in Washington this is known better than anywhere else. The Americans know very well that the RS-12M missile is not a new type of ICBM, but a modernized variant of an existing type whose characteristics fully accord with the treaty. The U.S.S.R., a statement issued by the Soviet government says, has "repeatedly adduced factual evidence showing that each time a new American military programme that does not accord with existing treaty limitations is launched, Washington levels false accusations against the Soviet Union."

Washington in general is not in the habit of believing what others say. Let us therefore take a look at what infor-

mation about Soviet "violations" obtained from its own sources the Reagan Administration has on record in its files.

Secret CIA evaluation, 1984: by virtue of its design, the space tracking station at Krasnoyarsk cannot serve for radar guidance of hostilities.

Secret military intelligence evaluation, 1985: Soviet bombers should not be included in the count of weapons with an intercontinental radius of action.

CIA report, 1986: for many years the American side has overrated by 20 per cent the yield of nuclear test explosions in the U.S.S.R.

Evaluation by the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, February 1986: "The Soviet Union continues to comply with the SALT-2 treaty by dismantling strategic systems."

The President of Global Outlook (which does research and consulting on international security problems): The Soviet Union has asked the United States to specify the channels of telemetric information it needs to receive unencrypted in order to verify SALT-2 provisions. "There is no reason the United States [the Reagan Administration rejected the Soviet proposal.—A.A.] could not specify a range of channels it wishes to receive unencrypted, within which are buried those it really needs, without compromising its intelligence capabilities," he said.

Or take this fresh example which highlights the same tactic—the current contention resorted to in order to justify refusal to join in the unilateral Soviet moratorium on all nuclear explosions. The Soviet Union, it is argued, has completed all the test programmes it needs and now wants to leave the U.S. lagging behind. This "trump card"

was used by the U.S. Energy Department to extract appropriations for further nuclear explosions, on the plea that the Russians had outstripped America and could deploy laser anti-satellite weapons without any additional tests. Sensing a bluff, Congressman Edward J. Markey, the chairman of a House subcommittee, insisted on the government giving a factual, not propaganda answer. A few days later he was reluctantly told that "the CIA does not believe that the Soviet Union can deploy nuclear-driven directed energy weapons without conducting additional explosive tests." "What we have here is a classic case of a threat inflation," Markey commented.

The policy is not a new one, and the United States' NATO allies too have time and again sought to capitalize on the mythical "Soviet threat." What is it that put them on their guard this time? For one thing, a statement by U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz to newsmen who asked him what specifically the Russians would have to do for the U.S. not to scrap SALT-2. The head of the State Department in effect said that Washington was no longer interested in the treaty. In other words, Reagan's statement that if the U.S.S.R. "corrected its behaviour" he would think it over was only a manoeuvre to deceive the public.

Local political circles are now conjecturing as to what is behind the latest somersault of the White House. I have heard it said that in this way the issue will be raised at summit level in the event of another meeting between

Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan. However, common sense and international practice should make it clear to the local strategists that summit meetings have been held when the way to them was cleared of military-strategic impediments, not when new obstacles were raised. Is it a case of blackmail with the object of extracting concessions from the U.S.S.R. in other spheres in exchange for U.S. observance of the SALT-2 treaty? Surely the architects of this policy have not forgotten the lessons of history—that such methods have never led to success.

"The nice thing about the Soviet threat," the U.S. journal *Nation* comments, "is that it supports almost any argument President Reagan wants to make to Congress or the American people." Why present the Nicaraguan contras with \$100 million to overthrow the government? Why press on with "star wars," fund the anti-Angola UNITA, and increase Pentagon appropriations? "Why not? The Russians are impressed only by strength," the journal sums up the Administration's reasoning.

When he announced his "new attitude" to SALT-2, Reagan also called for "renewed bipartisan support for the Administration's full strategic modernization programme," including the deployment of all 100 MX missiles, full funding of research under the "star wars" programme, the development of a new intercontinental ballistic missile, and acceleration of the advanced cruise missile programme.

It is for these moves opening the way to "legalized lawlessness," for the

drive for unilateral advantages, that the present framework of existing Soviet-American agreements has become too narrow. This is not the first sally the U.S. Administration has made against the balanced international nuclear strategic regime, but it is perhaps one of the most demonstrative. If the White House has decided once and for all to embark on this road, the consequences could be serious indeed.

The other day the heads of the U.S. delegations at the SALT-1 and SALT-2 talks and former Defence Secretary Robert McNamara gave a press conference in Washington at which they unanimously deplored the President's decision and forecast that it would "diminish national security." And Senator Albert Gore, Jr., observed that the President's latest announcement "may be judged by history as his most serious mistake." That Moscow is constantly demonstrating that it stands firmly by its commitments but at the same time keeps its powder dry, has been duly noted.

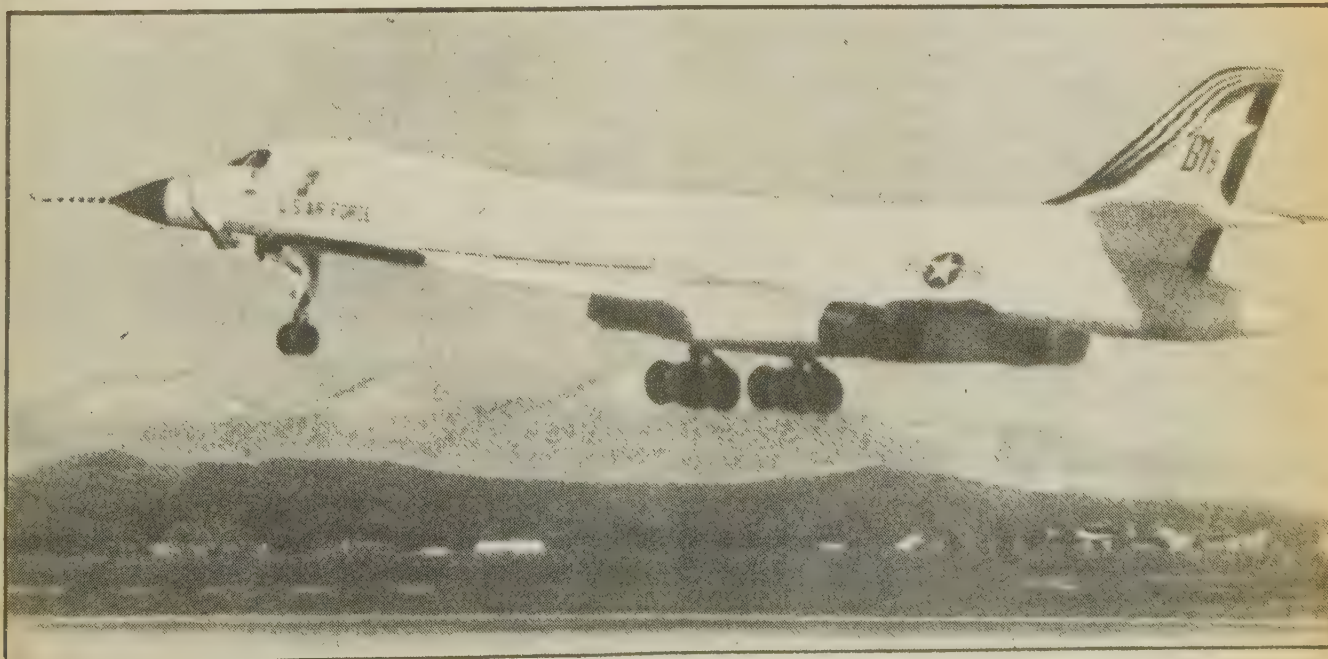
As is pointed out in the above-mentioned Soviet government statement, the Soviet Union "will not be an indifferent onlooker while the United States scraps existing strategic offensive arms limitation agreements. The American side should harbour no illusions about being able to gain military advantages for itself at the expense of the security of others."

Our Own Correspondent

New York

Photo from the book "Whence the Threat to Peace" (U.S.S.R.)

The B-1B bomber (range: 12,000 km) carrying the latest cruise missiles is intended by Washington strategists to smash SALT-2 late this year.



U.S.S.R.—MIDDLE EAST

SUPPORT FOR A JUST CAUSE

The Middle East has long been known as one of the "hot spots" of the planet. The temperature there frequently changes. It was "Fahrenheit 451" when houses burned in Tripoli and Benghazi during the American raid on Libya on April 15. And it was higher still when Israeli phosphorus bombs burned people alive in Lebanon in the massive Zionist aggression of 1982.

But, of course, it is not a matter of science fiction temperatures. What matters is that U.S. imperialism and its allies are constantly keeping a high pitch of tension in a region thousands of miles distant from America's shores. And whereas formerly Washington hoped to subjugate the Middle East through the agency of its "strategic ally," now it is more and more often doing "the dirty work" itself.

The American-Israeli alliance has latterly made Libya and Syria its main targets. Why? Because they are opposed to the separate deals with Israel that are being imposed on the Arabs and they want to see the occupied Arab lands returned to their rightful owners. After the bombing of Libya the U.S. President threatened to repeat the same brigand act against Syria.

In this tense situation two leading Arab statesmen—Abdel Salam Jalloud, member of the Revolutionary Leadership of Libya, and Abdel Halim Haddam, Vice-President of Syria—visited Moscow in late May. Mikhail Gorbachev met and talked to both of them, after which Soviet-Libyan and Soviet-Syrian negotiations took place.

In October last year the U.S.S.R. and Libya signed a long-term programme of economic, scientific, technological and trade cooperation. The concrete spheres of such cooperation were the main subject of the present Soviet-Libyan talks.

The Soviet side stressed its readiness to help Libya further to strengthen its defence capability. After all, Libya was the target of the adventurist policy of the United States and of its attempt to dictate its will to sovereign states.

To justify its own policy of state terrorism Washington accuses the Libyan government of all the seven sins. But

Libya did not falter in the face of aggression. It demonstrated its resolve to build the new life and not to renounce its efforts to counteract the imperialist policy of interfering in the internal affairs of other countries.

At a dinner in honour of the Libyan guest, Nikolai Ryzhkov, who headed the Soviet delegation at the talks, said that "there cannot be and will not be any return to the times when crude force dictated terms in the world. The march of history cannot be reversed for the simple reason that imperialism, world reaction are counterposed by the powerful forces of progress—the socialist states, the overwhelming majority of the developing countries and the entire growing potential of the forces of peace." Abdel Jalloud thanked the Soviet Union for its support and assistance, and for the firm position it took during the U.S. aggression against Libya.

As the experience of Libya and earlier that of Tunisia show, no Arab country is guaranteed against Zionist-imperialist aggressive sallies. Distance is no obstacle here. Nevertheless, Syria is in a special position in this respect—the position of a frontline state part of whose territory is occupied by Israel.

In view of the mounting threat to

Syria from U.S. imperialism and Israel, besides political questions the Moscow talks examined concrete matters relating to the strengthening of Syria's defence capacity in conformity with the Soviet-Syrian Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation. Taking account of what had emerged in the course of the armed attack on Libya, the chiefs of the general staffs of both countries took part in the talks.

As the old saying goes, a friend in need is a friend indeed. And the Middle East, with Damocles' sword of aggression, occupation and humiliation of Arab citizens hanging over it, is in need of real friends. No amount of Zionist and imperialist gambles, however, can weaken the resolve of the Arab peoples to gain independence and achieve a just, comprehensive settlement of the Middle East conflict.

In times of stress for the Arab peoples the Soviet Union has invariably extended them a helping hand. The talks in Moscow confirmed once again that in our country the Arab peoples have a friend on whom they can always rely to support their just cause.

D. ZGERSKY

MONGOLIA

THE PARTY'S PLANS

"If we are able to develop unity of purpose and combine our efforts nothing will be beyond our powers and we shall be able to comprehend everything and learn everything." Thus Sukhe-Bator, the founder of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and the people's state.

Slightly more than 65 years have passed since then. Beginning as the first underground Marxist study circle, the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party became the vanguard of the working people who rose to revolutionary struggle and won the battle. Today what the leader of the Mongolian people envisaged as a project for the future has become the reality. Striking testimony to this was the 19th Congress of the MPRP held in Ulan Bator, capital

of socialist Mongolia, over May 28-31, this year.

Jambyn Batmunkh, who delivered the main report on behalf of the Central Committee, told the congress that the economic and social tasks set by the previous congress had on the whole been accomplished.

In the past five-year period the basic assets of the national economy increased 1.7 times. National income rose 37 per cent, about four fifths of its increment having been secured by higher labour productivity. Along with the continued strengthening of agriculture—the traditional foundation of the country's economy—national industry has rapidly developed. Between 1981 and 1986 the basic assets of industry doubled. A qualitative change is taking place in the structure of industry in which fuel and power, ore mining and metalworking industries are playing an increasing role.

Plans for the period 1986-90 were

discussed at the congress. What targets have been set?

Industrial output is to grow by 30-34 per cent by the end of this period, that of agriculture, by 18-20 per cent. This will ensure the continued growth of living standards. More than a third of the national income will go into the accumulation fund.

But the congress focussed attention not only on past achievements and plans for the future. Sharp criticism was levelled at all that is retarding the country's progress. For example, although investments in capital construction were considerably higher than the initial estimates, the rate of returns is low. Plans for putting production capacities into operation have not been fulfilled. Heavy losses have been sustained in cattle-raising. In industry, too, progress has not been smooth. Although per capita real incomes have increased by 12 per cent, some party and state organizations tend to relegate the service industry to the background.

The frank and objective analysis made and the thoroughness with which the road to the future was charted testify to the militancy and strength of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party.

Dedication to the indestructible alliance and fraternal friendship between the MPRP and the CPSU, between the M.P.R. and the U.S.S.R., it was stressed, will continue to be the fundamental principle of the party's foreign policy. Combined efforts, intensification of multiform ties multiply the strength of socialism and enable it to exert a greater influence on the course of world developments and more effectively to counteract the aggressive policy of imperialism. This is particularly important at a time when in various parts of the Asian continent, in the very heart of which Mongolia is located, a tense and at times explosive situation obtains. The military presence of the United States which is out to turn the vast Asian and Pacific region into another (after Europe) sphere of concentration of nuclear missiles targeted against world socialism and the national liberation movement is making itself ever more tangibly felt.

The position of the Mongolian Communists, and with them the entire Mongolian people, may be described as an emphatic No to war, aggression and confrontation and Yes to peaceful coexistence and cooperation. The timeliness of Mongolia's proposal to create a mechanism of international intercourse that would exclude the use of

force in relations between the Asian and Pacific states is becoming increasingly clear. Ulan Bator's peace proposals have earned wide international recognition and support. In line with these are the initiatives advanced by Vietnam, Laos, Kampuchea and People's Korea. Another important factor of peace and security in Asia is the realistic, peace-loving policy pursued by India. The congress gave a high appraisal of the initiatives put forward by the Soviet Union, its proposals for the reduction of conventional arms and armed forces in Europe and for far-

reaching equal cooperation among all the countries of the Asian and Pacific region. These proposals, Jambyn Batmunkh said, fully accord with the interests of safeguarding peace over vast expanses from the Atlantic to the Pacific oceans.

Constructive endeavour and peace are the focus of the thoughts and actions of the Mongolian Communists, their vital cause.

V. GODYNA

ALGERIA

INTERNATIONAL FAIR

The international fair just over in Algiers was the 22nd in succession, and each time its visitors and guests have found new evidence of the country's economic progress. Its display this time included electronic equipment, computers, refrigerators and television sets, household appliances and the output of the domestic light industry. For the Algerians, however, these fairs are not only a review of their own achievements. They help to acquaint them with the most up-to-date technology of foreign firms and to conclude contracts and agreements.

The drop in oil export earnings following the lowering of prices on the world market has prompted the Algerians to draw to the maximum on their own resources. This policy is formulated in the new edition of the

National Charter adopted earlier this year.

This explains the heightened interest in this year's fair in which more than 1,300 firms from 39 countries took part.

The Soviet Union's participation in the fair acquired particular significance in the light of the recent visit to Moscow of an Algerian party and government delegation, headed by Bendjedid Chadli. As has been reported, the visit ended with the signing of a number of important documents, including a long-term programme of economic, trade, scientific and technological cooperation aimed at fuller use of the reserves and potentials of both countries.

"The Soviet Union was represented

The flags of the participating states flying at the 22nd international fair in Algiers.

Photo from the newspaper El-Moudjahid (Algeria)



at the fair by more than 20 foreign trade amalgamations and firms," Vladimir Kustov, director of the Soviet pavilion, told your correspondent. "A prominent place was allotted to the activity of the State Committee for Foreign Economic Relations through which the Soviet Union renders economic and technical aid to developing countries. Some 2,000 industrial enterprises, power stations, hydrotechnical and agricultural projects have been built to date in the Third World with the help of the Soviet Union and other CMEA countries. An iron and steel works in El-Hadjar, a section of a glass factory in Oran, a thermal power station in Annaba, and a lead and zinc concentration plant in El-Abd are only some of the more important projects built with Soviet assistance in Algeria. And the role of the

Alrar—Tin Fouye—Hassi-Messaoud gas pipeline is difficult to overestimate."

More than 2,000 Soviet exhibits were on view for the first time at this year's fair, Kustov said. Particular interest was shown in the latest models of cars produced by the Volga Automobile Plant in Togliatti, electrical equipment, programmed machine tools, electronic study systems and household appliances. The Soviet pavilion was visited by Algerian Prime Minister Abdelhamid Brahimi.

The substantial number of contracts concluded indicates that the 22nd international fair in Algiers made its contribution to the development of mutually advantageous cooperation among the countries taking part in it.

E. BOBROV

Our Own Correspondent

Algiers

position to the right-wing Likud bloc then in power, and four leading newspapers demanded an investigation of what they described as a "lynching." Defence Minister Arens defended "the honour of the Israeli army." His soldiers, he said, would never perpetrate an unlawful act, and it was unlike them to kill POWs. The government made every effort to hush up the scandal: with pre-term elections to the Knesset just three months off, the reputation of lynchers did not at all suit the Likud bloc and Prime Minister Itzhak Shamir.

An investigation was carried out, nevertheless, under pressure from international public opinion and Israeli progressive circles. It revealed that the young Palestinians had indeed been lynched, that the officers and men who had committed the heinous crime got off with mild censure, and the general to which their unit was subordinate was merely admonished.

The incident was closed—once and for all, it seemed—only to surface suddenly again. An ABC report from Tel Aviv states that, according to informed Israeli sources, the beating of the Palestinians to death, blamed at first on the military, has turned out to be the work of the general security service, Israel's Minister of Justice, it is claimed, lied to the investigators himself and compelled others to do so.

Procurator General Itzhak Zamir has found himself obliged to call Abraham Sholom, the chief of the Shin Beth, the Zionist Gestapo, to account. However, the coalition government, which includes representatives of the Likud, prefers to let the sleeping dogs lie. It is trying to persuade the Procurator to retire, and the Minister of Justice to drop his charges. The whole affair is being veiled with secrecy "in the interests of national security." The Jerusalem Post says the incident should be swept under the carpet lest it have an adverse effect on the nation's morale.

Then why has the long-shelved dossier been taken out of the archives? Itzhak Shamir, the Likud leader, and Prime Minister at the time of the killing, is to take over as head of the coalition government this autumn. Although Shamir is resuming the premiership by agreement with the Labour Party whose leader Shimon Peres now holds the post, there is no love lost between the partners in the coalition. It is not to punish the lynchers that the case has been brought to the public's notice again. The world of Israeli politicians is a jungle, and to remove an opponent anything goes.

E. KORSHUNOV

ISRAEL

NO HOLDS BARRED

Another scandal, believed to be likely to escalate into a political crisis, has flared up in Tel Aviv. It started with a report by U.S. ABC television to the effect that Israel's Minister of Justice was going to put the security service chief on trial for having allegedly blocked the investigation of the murder of two Palestinian terrorists in prison. The Palestinians were jailed in April 1984 charged with commandeering an Israeli bus.

Now let us see what actually happened on April 13, 1984, on a desert road near the town of Rafah, in the occupied sector of Gaza. On that day four young Palestinians hijacked a local bus and tried to make it to Egyptian territory in protest against the Israeli occupiers' brutalities in the Gaza Strip and on the West Bank of the Jordan. The hijackers were unarmed. They let a number of Israeli passengers, including a pregnant woman, off the bus. On its way to the border, however, the bus was intercepted by Israeli soldiers who spattered it with fire. The official report on the incident pronounced all four Palestinians dead.

It was then that the scandal broke out. Some newspapers carried eyewitness accounts which claimed that only



Caged after capture on the Israeli-occupied West Bank, these Palestinian schoolgirls will now face interrogation.

Photo from the magazine Palestine (Lebanon)

two hijackers had died in the bus, and that the other two had been seized by Israeli soldiers, beaten up and dragged away. Moreover, the accounts were illustrated with photographs by Anat Saragusti, correspondent for the independent magazine Haolam Hazeh. Uri Avneri, the magazine's editor, managed to make the photographs public.

"The photographs," Uri Avneri said, "prove beyond doubt that two of the hijackers were not killed on the spot but taken away and executed shortly afterwards."

A group of Knesset deputies in op-

Safeguard Our Common Home

The International Committee for European Security and Cooperation (ICESC) met for its spring session in Brussels on May 30-31. The session was attended by peace workers from 22 European countries and delegates from 10 international organizations. At New Times request Trud correspondent Vyacheslav Boikov interviewed MIKHAIL NENASHEV, deputy chairman of the Soviet Committee for European Security and Cooperation and chairman of the U.S.S.R. State Committee for Printing and Publishing, who headed the Soviet delegation at the session.



The Brussels session was addressed by about 20 speakers representing various social systems and strata. What they had in common was concern for the fate of peace and the Helsinki process.

That's right. We met at a troubled and critical time. The question now is not what kind of future awaits us, but whether there is any future at all. The question of "To be or not to be?" is of special urgency to Europe, which is armed more heavily than any other continent. Active opposition to the growing threat of war and the deterioration of the political climate is an imperative demand of the time. This can no longer be delayed—the world has reached a critical point. The time for practical action has come. That was the consensus of the ICESC spring session.

The Soviet Union has put forward a complex of concrete disarmament proposals. This, unfortunately, is not true of the other side. As a participant at the Brussels meeting aptly put it, today peace bids come from the East, and the threat of war from the West...

Underlying the Soviet proposals is a new way of thinking and the realization of the fact that today it is no longer possible to ensure peace and security by the traditional force of arms. The arms race can only undermine international stability and bring the catastrophe of war nearer. Therefore the task now is not only to maintain military-strategic parity but to eliminate nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction. Continued military competition on earth, not to mention outer space, may lead to a situation where it will get out of politicians' control. Soviet initiatives proceed from the premise that in a nuclear age real security can only be equal and universal.

The political course Washington took in the early eighties leads in a different

direction—to "star wars," to the "chemicalization," following the "missilization," of Europe and many other projects and actions fraught with the danger of escalating the quantitative and qualitative arms race. The United States is relying on power politics, as exemplified by the bombing of Libya, and acts of subversion against Nicaragua and many other countries. They have set their sights on scrapping agreements already reached, such as SALT-2 and the ABM Treaty. Statements made here by representatives of the West European public indicate that this policy is causing concern not only in the Soviet Union.

I hope you will agree with me that for all their importance Soviet-American relations are by no means the only major factor in the modern international situation. It was pointed out at the session that Western Europe can and must play a more important role in matters of war and peace. What is your opinion on this score?

Had we reduced matters solely to relations between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A., the picture of the current international situation would have been distorted. It would be wrong to belittle the role of Western Europe. Its role is very important. The legitimate question therefore arises: have not the new American missiles been deployed in the Old World, and are not West European countries being drawn into the "star wars" programme, in whatever form, with their governments' consent and immediate connivance? Have political and public forces in Western Europe proved ready to give a worthy rebuff to the efforts to undermine normal civilized relations in Europe and to the attempts to frustrate the Helsinki process which is our common achievement? I believe that supporting the policy pursued by Washington, or standing

idly by as an onlooker while what is called "the rivalry between the super-powers" continues, is not in the vital interests of the European peoples and is not conducive to ridding our continent of the danger of nuclear war.

Some time ago the Soviet SS-20s were regarded as the main threat to Western Europe. They were used as an argument for the nuclear rearming of NATO. The U.S.S.R. has suggested that the territory of the entire continent be cleared of Soviet and American medium-range nuclear missiles. What's more, it has taken Western Europe's position into account and agreed not to raise the issue of the nuclear potentials of Britain and France provided they are not increased. Why do the West European governments keep silent now, one wonders? Neither do we see any logic in their attitude to other Soviet initiatives aimed at preventing the arms race reaching outer space and curbing it on earth. And this despite the fact that many of these proposals (for instance, those to eliminate chemical weapons or radically reduce conventional arms) are concerned above all with the European continent.

What conclusions did the ICESC session arrive at?

A joint communiqué was adopted on the results of the discussions. The Europeans, it says, condemn aggressive power politics and urge that the political dialogue be lived up. They demand that agreements be reached with a view to strengthening international security and broadening cooperation.

The United States, the communiqué points out, should join the moratorium on nuclear tests, for this would pave the way for an agreement on their universal banning. The International Committee supported the proposal to rid Europe of Soviet and American medium-range nuclear missiles by 1990, as well as moves to set nuclear and chemical weapon-free zones, eliminate nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction towards the end of the century, prevent the development of space strike weapons, make substantial reductions in conventional arms and the armed forces, strengthen confidence-building measures (which could be facilitated by the signing of an agreement on the non-use of force, for instance), and develop the Helsinki process.

Europe is our common home in which geography and history have brought various nations together. It is only by joint efforts that we can keep this home intact, and make it safe to live in.

Brussels

Narrowing the Gap

The Hungarian People's Republic is now CMEA's biggest and one of the world's leading food producers per head of the population. Hungarian farming cooperatives have branched out into a number of industrial sidelines with the result that living standards in town and countryside are levelling up. This is the subject of the story that follows.

Overhead lamps cast a brilliant light on production flow lines with dozens of women, seated round large oval tables, concentrating on printed circuits—each a maze of glittering tenuous wires, miniature resistors, capacitors and diodes. The large windows of the factory shop look onto a quiet acacia-lined village street, vast fields stretching to the distant forest, and a water tower next to a livestock farm.

The New Life farming cooperative in Sarisap is rightly described in Hungary as making computers. The integrated circuits manufactured by the local factory go to big electronics plants.

The village of Sarisap is in the "backwoods," away from the main roads, almost equidistant from the large mining town of Tatabánya and the fast-growing Esztergom which used to draw its young men and women away from it. The land around the village is not particularly fertile, crops were poor and there was no raising them without capital investments. When Mihály Farnadi took over as chairman some years ago he could not decide what to do first. Then it occurred to him to start producing electronic components on state credit. Large state-run computer-manufacturing plants, interested in auxiliary production facilities in the countryside, helped him do this.

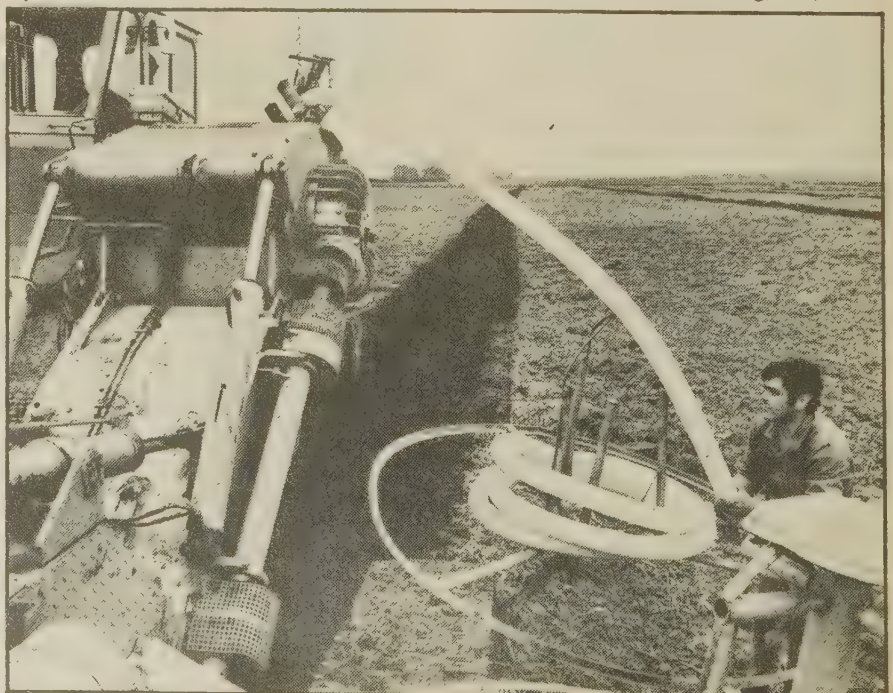
Today the New Life cooperative's electronics factory employs 500 people. Its profits amounted to 800 million forints last year. The money helped the cooperative increase its milk output: now its pedigree herd produces 5,000-6,000 litres of milk per cow a year. Today the cooperative can afford new land-tilling machines and fertilizers and is carrying out an ambitious land reclamation scheme. Last year it harvested 5.7 tonnes of wheat per hectare as against 3.2 tonnes in 1982. Poultry farming, never practised here before, has attain-

ed a high level thanks to family contracts, personal crediting and mechanization. Another product—egg-yolk powder—has been added to the cooperative's output range. The average age of the cooperative's members has gone down by 15 years and, most importantly, the "rejuvenation" process is continuing. Young engineers and technicians at the electronics factory start families, build homes, put down roots....

Is it right for a farming cooperative to diversify into other areas of production? Does this practice promote the development of agriculture and livestock breeding or does it interfere with it?

Cooperative managers are of the opinion that this depends on the farmers' specific requirements and on specific local conditions. "If your sword is too short, lengthen it," goes a Hungarian

Plastic drainpipes being laid in the fields at the Rakoczi agricultural cooperative.



saying. Living up to this principle inherited from the Hussars of long ago, modern cooperative workers show initiative and socialist enterprise and, while concentrating on the main production lines, also pay considerable attention to sidelines which are a source of extra revenue.

In the village of Vaja I called on László Iklódi, a winner of State Prize and chairman of the local Rakoczi cooperative. Over a traditional cup of coffee and a tin of chocolate- and apple-jam sweets ("our product," the chairman informed me), I learned that although the soil is poor, the cooperative grows bumper apple crops in its socialized orchard. In a large mechanized store nitrogen is used to keep apples fragrant and fresh till spring. The cooperative has its own cannery which makes juice and paste. It processes up to 50,000 tonnes of sub-standard apples every year. A confectionery factory has been opened.

"We keep the people busy in the winter months," the chairman told me as he dwelt on the advantages of diversification. "And since we do not harvest equally good apple, vegetable and cereal crops every year, we shall go on building industrial facilities. Recently we've started making sports bags for the Skala-Koop cooperative amalgamation. We do some trading, too, which

gives us more funds for mechanizing plant- and livestock breeding and thus increasing our marketable food surpluses. Our peasants' overall standards of education have gone up. Now we can allocate more and more money to social needs. This attracts people."

The Rakoczi cooperative is also famous for having extended the cost-accounting principle to every workingman. Truck and tractor drivers and team leaders sign contracts with the cooperative for the lease of vehicles and farm machines. They buy their own gasoline, lubricants and spare parts. Repairs are carried out at their own expense and, of course, they pay the rent. Their earnings depend on the amount of work they do under the contract.

The achievements of Hungarian agriculture are common knowledge. They are due, above all, to socialist reconstruction, as well as to more effective forms of socialist management, the introduction of industrialized methods of farming and the results of the latest research, a flexible integration of family farms into the socialized sector.

The cooperative managers' ability to make important decisions on their own is particularly conducive to rapid advance. Nobody told Mihaly Farnadi, for example, to take up electronics as a means of propelling his once poorish farm to prosperity. He simply realized that this priority trend in industrial progress could be beneficial to the cooperative. It hasn't been plain sailing all along, but people have learned from their mistakes and mastered new skills. Now they are proud of their high-quality products and of having stuck it out.

Hungarian farming cooperatives started to diversify in the late sixties. Today almost all of Hungary's 1,300 collective farms have subsidiary branches which account for about 45 per cent of their incomes. The value of their output constitutes almost 10 per cent of the aggregate national product.

On-the-spot farm produce processing is also an important sideline. Over the past few years the cooperatives have built 2,500 meat and poultry processing factories, canneries, dairy and confectionery factories. This means a reduction of product losses, a saving on transportation, an image to live up to, and a better market supply. Today the agricultural cooperatives' farm product processing factories meet 13.5 per cent of the national demand for poultry meat; 13 per cent of the demand for sausages; 16 per cent of that for dairy products, and 32 per cent of that

for pasta. The export of cooperative-produced foods continues to grow.

More than 70 per cent of what the subsidiary branches produce serves the cooperatives' own requirements—farm machinery, implements and equipment.

When not engaged in repairing farm machinery and equipment, many of the local cooperatives' workshops fulfil orders from metalworking and engineering plants. This practice has made it possible to increase industrial output. New employment opportunities have reduced the exodus of labour from the countryside to the towns and improved many families' welfare standards.

Buildings that have been vacated as a result of modernizing the methods of agricultural production are often used as workshops. Apart from their regular line, many farms also trade and offer all sorts of services. The Obuda, Sasad and Duna agricultural cooperatives, situated near the capital, each runs up to fifty shops of different kinds, and

other businesses. They lay out parks and gardens in Budapest and repair private cars and apartments.

Hungarian cooperative workers do not believe in ready-made recipes for success. Everything depends on specific circumstances. Some cooperatives find it more profitable to fix domestic appliances, while others repair cars as a sideline. Cooperatives where women predominate, for instance, thrive on garment-making, the production of packaging materials, and sorting out secondary raw materials.

To sum up, although many of the agricultural cooperatives' sidelines have little if anything to do with farming proper, they certainly contribute to progress in the countryside and improve the quality of village life. As a result, the gap between town and countryside, that is, between workers' and peasants' living standards is narrowing.

V. GERASIMOV

Budapest

TASS photo

PEOPLE ON THE WORLD SCENE

GRO HARLEM BRUNDTLAND



Gro Harlem Brundtland became Prime Minister of Norway following the resignation of the previous coalition government after its defeat in parliament on May 2 in the voting on proposed "strict economy" measures. (The Norwegian Constitution does not provide for the dissolution of parliament and the holding of early elections.) On May 9, Gro Harlem Brundtland as leader of the Norwegian Labour Party, formed a one-party minority government.

The new Prime Minister was born on April 20, 1939. Her father, Professor Gudmund Harlem, was a prom-

inent member of the Norwegian Labour Party, who at different times held the posts of Defence Minister and Minister for Social Affairs in a Social Democratic government.

Gro Harlem Brundtland is a graduate of the Oslo and Harvard (U.S.A.) universities. Beginning with 1966 she was consultant to the Ministry of Health and Social Affairs, and then medical officer with the Oslo City Health Department. In 1974-79 she was Minister of Environment in the Odvar Nordli government.

She joined the Social Democratic movement in her early youth. In 1975 she was elected vice-chairman and in 1981 chairman of the Labour Party. In 1977 she was elected to parliament. In 1980-81 she headed the foreign policy committee of parliament, and beginning with 1981, was Labour Party floor leader and vice-chairman of the foreign policy committee.

From February 4 to September 14, 1981, she was Prime Minister—the first woman head of govern-

ment in Scandinavia.

In 1984 she was elected chairman of the U.N. Commission on Environment and Development.

Gro Harlem Brundtland visited the Soviet Union twice—in 1978 in the capacity of Minister of Environment and in 1979 as a member of a Norwegian Labour Party delegation which had been invited by the CPSU Central Committee.

In her programme statement Gro Harlem Brundtland declared for "good and correct relations with the Soviet Union," against the U.S. plans to develop a new generation of chemical weapons and deploy them in Western Europe, and for the creation of a nuclear-free zone in Northern Europe.

Gro Harlem Brundtland has four children aged between 18 and 24. Her husband, Arne Olav Brundtland, is a leading specialist at the Norwegian Institute of International Affairs, and a member of the Conservative Høyre Party which is in opposition to the new government.

KINDRED SOULS

The Third Reich was buried once and for all more than 40 years ago, but far from all its hangmen and butchers have been brought to trial. Although during the war Western leaders solemnly undertook to pursue them to the ends of the earth, many war criminals are still at large.... Having dragged their feet for years, the Americans extradited a Balkan butcher Artukovic to Yugoslavia. It was not until almost 40 years after Victory that Wolfgang Otto, one of the killers of Ernst Thaelmann, was made to stand trial for the murder. John Demjanjuk, the sadistic guard from the notorious concentration camp Treblinka, in which more than 800,000 prisoners from all over Europe, including Poland, the Soviet Union, Austria, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, perished,

has at last been gaoled pending trial. Investigators are now amassing and processing the evidence of his crimes. It is possible that none of this would have been printed before the trial but for a visit recently paid to Demjanjuk in prison.

Eight years ago, when the spy Shcharansky was being tried in Moscow, evidence of his anti-Soviet activities included Document No. 3, a series of slanderous allegations about the torture of prisoners in the Soviet Union. It is hard to say whether Shcharansky, who was expelled from the U.S.S.R. in the winter of 1986, will continue his studies of "prison conditions" in the West. In early May, however, Shcharansky spent three and a half hours examining a top-security jail in Ramle near Tel Aviv.

Prison guard Shimon Malka later recounted that when Shcharansky came face to face with the butcher Demjanjuk, the latter

exclaimed in amazement: "If I'm not mistaken, you are Shcharansky?"

"They smiled at each other," Malka continued, "Demjanjuk, after a brief hesitation, held out his hand and the two shook hands." The guard did not notice any hesitation in Shcharansky—and small wonder: spy and executioner are birds of a feather!

What is amazing, however, is that Le Monde of Paris, which reported Shcharansky's visit to the jail, also carried the news that shortly after his meeting with Demjanjuk a large anti-Soviet crowd gave Shcharansky a boisterous welcome in New York. Moreover, according to press reports, he was officially received at a very high level.

A spy and a butcher shaking hands is disgusting, but the mind boggles at a petty snooper being given a hero's welcome by a head of state.

B. BORISOV

PROVOCA

"It was about five in the evening when we were under heavy fire. We understood the noise and cries that came from the contras. There were about a dozen of them, all dark-green fatigues, all wore a hat with the letters [the so-called Nicaraguan Democratic Forces—Ed.]. They were sacking the houses of the cooperatives, hustling defenceless people out of their homes. We were ordered out into the street where we were all herded to the edge of the village and then we marched forward, the men in front, us on with the butts

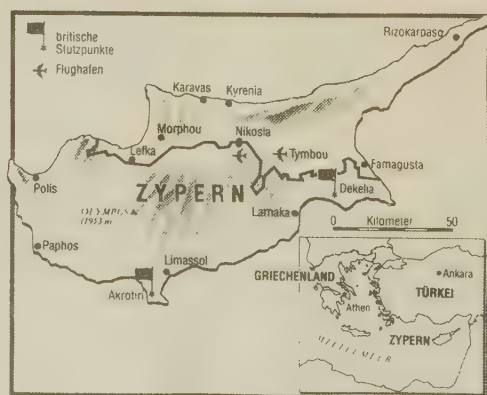


GEM OR CLUB?

Cyprus, the blue gem of the Mediterranean, off whose shores Aphrodite, goddess of love and beauty, rose from the sea.

But not only goddesses have stepped onto the shores of Cyprus. Many a conqueror and adventurer has landed there, from the Phoenicians of ancient times to the today's Britons, who, incidentally, still maintain military bases there.

But as the British evidently found it lonely without their "elder brother," today one increasingly hears American accents and sees more and more yankee bases and airfields. Indeed, according to the Nicosia newspaper Anexartitos, NATO is to crisscross the whole of Northern Cyprus with a tight network of military airfields. It has already activated the Middle East's biggest airfield at Lofkoniko as well as airfields in the vicinity of the town-



The flags mark the sites of military bases, the planes those of airfields.

Map reproduced from Der Spiegel (F.R.G.)

ships of Kalespida, Karmi and Kyrenia. From the air Cyprus resembles a club, though, of course, this is only a geological fluke. However, at times one could be forgiven for thinking Washington and NATO want to turn this geological fortuity into a political reality. Indeed, after the airfield programme

has been carried out in line with Pentagon plans, the island will be a "club" in Washington's hands against the freedom-loving countries of the region, and there will then be no need to introduce vulnerable aircraft carriers or planes from bases in Britain.

Cyprus is having a grim time of it. The island has been broken in two. Turkish troops are in the north. By embroiling the island in the signs NATO is only postponing the solution of its acute national problems. The Algerian weekly Révolution served: "The problem of Cyprus is standing to this day and there is no so far of any solution. On the island and Washington are having troops on the island and stations and fuel for NATO squadrons off North African shores." We must hope that the island's runways are not capable of striking a region that incur Washington's

THAT FAILED

les," Dagmar Vogel, who got away, later recounted.

Dagmar Vogel had come from the F.R.G. to a distant province in Nicaragua to help farmers at the Jacinto Baca cooperative start new life. But such assistance is odious to the enemies of new Nicaragua. "Foreigners who volunteer to help the Nicaraguans are our enemies," said Frank Arana, one of the contra leaders. It was to scare sympathizers with the Nicaraguan revolution that the Jacinto Baca cooperative, where the West Germans were working, was raided. Twelve of them were taken hostage but one of them escaped. The Nica-



raguan government fears that the FDN bandits will kill the remaining hostages and U.S. propaganda pin the blame on the Sandinistas, as Nicaraguan Deputy Foreign Minister Victor Tinoco said at a press conference in Managua.

But the contras and their backers seem to have made a mistake: F.R.G. nationals working in Nicaragua gathered outside their embassy and demanded that the West German authorities take steps to secure the release of the hostages. Another demonstration was staged outside the U.S. embassy in Managua. The demonstrators demanded that the U.S. Administration order the contras to let the hostages go and put an end to acts of provocation against Nicaragua. Another team of foreigners have gone to work at the Jacinto Baca cooperative.

V. DOLGOV

Our Own Correspondent
Managua

This group of well-wishers has also come to Nicaragua from the F.R.G.

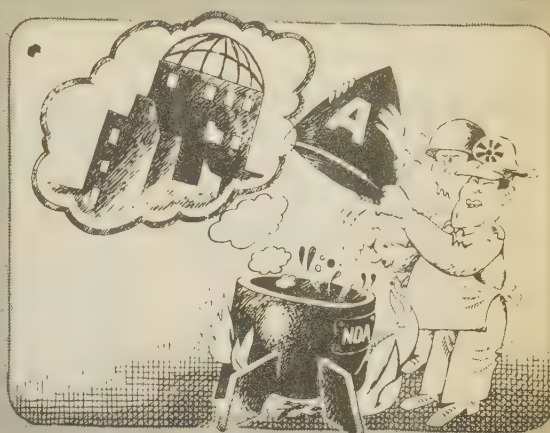
Photo from
Der Spiegel (F.R.G.)

NOT A THREAT—BUT...

Five American periodicals have incurred the wrath of the U.S. Administration and especially of the CIA. The Washington Post and Newsweek have published articles on the CIA-forged "evidence" of Libya's involvement in the terrorist act in West Berlin. Nor did the Washington Times, the New York Times or Time ask the intelligence agency's boss William Casey for permission before going to press with stories about the "evidence." The Administration is so infuriated that it is considering lawsuits against the "culprits." Indictments, however, have not been served—so far.

Perhaps, the White House has decided simply to scare

the errant journalists with the threat of ten-year prison terms and \$10,000 fines. The sword of Damocles is now hanging over them. The Washington Post, as it happens, has one more story that does not suit the CIA and if the newspaper publishes it, a lawsuit against it will be "an alternative that would have to be considered." As the CIA director told Washington Post editors, "I'm not threatening you. But you've got to know that if you publish this, I would recommend that you be prosecuted under the Intelligence Statute." S. TSEPULIN



NOTHING REPREHENSIBLE?

The journal Gunji Minron, published by a group of military experts, has reported that Japan is ready to produce nuclear weapons. So the country's three non-nuclear principles are about to go overboard and Hiroshima and Nagasaki will be consigned to history. Many Tokyo officials are happy: Japanese scientists and engineers have mastered the technique of making A-bombs and there is enough of the stuff that goes into them, plutonium. In late 1984 the Seishin Maru, escorted by naval vessels, brought a shipment of plutonium to Tokyo port from France, ostensibly for atomic power engineering research. Specialists believe that it is enough to produce 20 atomic bombs—comparatively small ones, like the one dropped on Nagasaki. Japan is also in a position to replenish its plutonium stocks: a plant capable of producing nuclear fuel on its own has been built in Tokaimura, Ibaraki Prefecture. Solemn pledges were made when the plant was under construction that it would be used for peaceful purposes. Gunji Minron has now discovered that the government has rescinded regulations stipulating that plants producing fissionable materials be used exclusively to meet the needs of atomic-power engineering.

Moreover, charges made by Communist deputy K. Ueda that the Japanese Defence Agency is getting ready for nuclear warfare have been confirmed. The agency's First Research Institute has now been experimenting with plutonium for 14 years "to simulate the effects of nuclear war" (as if Hiroshima and Nagasaki had not been enough). The institute is situated in Tokyo's Meguro district, in the very heart of the city, and experiments with radioactive materials, in the view of a group of Communist parliamentarians and Tokyo municipal councillors, pose health risks to the population of the capital.

A few years ago such exposures could have resulted in some ministers resigning their posts—but today government officials, though irked by the scandal, claim that they see nothing wrong in the Defence Agency's doings.

L. MLECHIN

Drawing by N. Shcherbakov

Hardly a Source of Inspiration

Professor RODION PANTELEIMONOV

"The Changing World of Work: Major Issues Ahead" is the title of the report from the Director-General of the International Labour Office* delivered at the 72nd session of the ILO General Conference which opened in Geneva on June 4. The title is as pretentious as are the report's authors who claim to have the recipes for the solutions to future problems. Whether their recipes will be of any use is another matter.

Even a cursory look at the document shows that the authors are clearly dismayed by the adverse trends in socio-economic development in the non-socialist world. On closer scrutiny it transpires that the ideologists of the ILO have been compelled to admit the fact of "prolonged economic recession and major structural changes," as well as the "sad inevitability" of ever growing unemployment and mass impoverishment. There is not much to look forward to....

The leaders of the ILO point out, not without bewilderment, that while the number of those totally unemployed worldwide is officially assessed at 80 million, those working part time (i.e., living from hand to mouth) constitute between a third and a half of the planet's working people, and amount to some two billion. The report is keynoted by gloomy statements to the effect that "unemployment rates are not likely to drop tomorrow," that unemployment is assuming a long-term character and, finally, that full employment, as provided for by international development strategy, cannot be achieved by the year 2000. This conclusion sounds like an epitaph on

the ILO's earlier projects.

"I must stress, however, that this report is neither a plan, nor even a draft of a complete middle-term plan," Francis Blanchard, Director-General of the International Labour Office, hastens to warn in the preamble. He regards the discussion of the document as "a source of inspiration" to those drawing up such plans in the future.

But where are the delegates at the current ILO session to draw their inspiration from? After all, they are now confronted with the ineluctable reality of the failure of the World Employment Programme and the "basic needs strategy," and remain undecided as to what line to take vis-à-vis the main exploiters of the working people—the transnational monopolies. Finally, they are disappointed by the ILO's vague stand on the arms race with its pernicious socio-economic consequences for factory and office workers.

In his report Francis Blanchard totally ignores such pressing problems as capital's counteroffensive against labour in the 1980s and the deprivation of the working people of some of their social gains. Neither does he say as much as a word about the economic blackmail of the trade unions by employers and bourgeois governments, the enactment of anti-labour laws, and the persecution of progressive forces.

The prophets on the shores of Lake of Geneva do not merely ignore the prospect of increasingly acute class antagonism between labour and capital—antagonism rendered inevitable by the policy of "social revanche." They try to explain away the deteriorating position of the working people in terms of natural-demographic and structural-technological factors.

Their reasoning is typical of ILO thinkers—the rapid numerical growth of the labour force, they allege, will not be accompanied by economic growth, and per capita incomes will go down as a result. This reasoning is reminiscent of the shopworn doctrine of "overpopulation" being the root of all evil (particularly in most of the developing countries). It may easily

lead to Malthusian recommendations to reduce the birth rate. The ILO's ideologists turn a blind eye to the social causes of relative overpopulation. They do not admit that capital uses it as a means of bringing pressure to bear on the workers it employs.

The authors of the report under review are not content with blaming the jobless themselves for capitalism's economic troubles. They go further, and blasphemously assert that unemployment and poverty threaten not only social balance, but world peace as well.

To believe them, universal peace is jeopardized by those reduced to destitution rather than by the insatiable arms manufacturers. The ILO headquarters seems to be scraping the bottom of the barrel for new ideas more than ever before.

Instead, the report by the ILO Director-General reveals his obvious penchant for the organization's former stale ideological stock-in-trade. The ILO had already put forward a plan for solving the problems of working people in the so-called "non-formal sector" as well as of those in the "zero-income bracket," i.e., the inhabitants of city slums and shanty towns living off odd jobs. This was intended to divert attention from the need to protect the interests of the international working class and to improve the conditions of life and work for the bulk of hired labour.

The International Labour Office's report to the 72nd ILO session concentrated again on the position of working people living "between town and countryside." Such a shift of emphasis is not unduly. It comes from the ILO leaders' socially conciliatory approach to the problems relating to the troubles of hundreds of millions of people in distress.

To begin with, neocolonialists have reduced millions in the developing countries to a position of dependence. These countries practically constitute a zone of solid poverty which affects two billion people (twice the figure cited in the report). In developing countries, the average per capita income is one eleventh of that in the former parent states, and the gap continues to widen. It is not only from poverty that the developing countries suffer. Their scourges include illiteracy and ignorance, chronic undernourishment and famine, appalling child mortality rates and epidemics.

These facts cry out for our attention and cannot be passed over. The International Labour Office's report admits that more than a billion people—

* The International Labour Office is the permanent secretariat of the Governing Body, an executive body of the International Labour Organization (ILO). The ILO's statute defines its objectives as improving living and working conditions and promoting economic and social stability. Along with government representatives, the ILO includes delegates from the member states' trade unions, and business proprietors. The ILO is a specialized agency of the United Nations.

for the most part in the developing countries—are without social protection. These people cannot be described as “working” because their lot is irregular employment—or joblessness for most of their lives. Hence their lack of organization, non-participation in trade unions and legal vulnerability. Job-seeking children, women and migrants also come into this category of people without rights. “Isolated as individuals,” the report points out, “they are vulnerable to various political, economic and social pressures.”

What do the International Labour Of-

tection,” the authors of the report rule out the possibility of these masses being drawn into the system of legal protection enjoyed by the industrial working class. This, they assert, is unfeasible and unrealistic.

The conclusion suggests that by placing the emphasis on the position of working people in the so-called “non-formal sector,” the ILO leaders are trying to conceal the fact that they lack the material, ideological and conceptual ammunition necessary to solve global problems such as poverty, ignorance, illiteracy and privation of the funda-

has raised the tension in labour-capital relationships to an even higher pitch. Whereas previously collective bargaining centred on wages, today labour and capital clash chiefly over such issues as guaranteed employment and working hours: under the pretext of a business slump, employers resort to mass dismissals, make those permitted to keep their jobs work longer hours, while freezing or even slashing their wages.

Echoing employers the ILO complains of the “insufficient flexibility” of the labour market. True, the authors of the report admit that the term is vague. They offer various equally vague definitions of it: geographical and professional mobility of working people, flexibility of labour costs (including flexibility of wages in response to changes in the economic situation, flexibility of pay differentiation, flexibility in work force management at factory level, and the like). In producing all these varieties of flexibility, their inventors had one aim in mind: to bend the workingman to the will of capital which pursues “social revanche,” to represent trade unions as an “evil monopoly” which is to blame for the “rigidity” of the labour market.

Since the trade unions offer resistance to the onslaught of capital, the third partner, the state, steps in to give the latter a hand. Capitalist states have openly imposed restrictions on the working people’s right to unionization, collective bargaining and industrial action. The International Labour Office’s report admits, without beating about the bush, that those restrictions violate (are not in strict conformity with, as the report puts it) the conventions of the International Labour Organization.

The ILO leaders conclude the report on the reassuring note that the matter will be given further study irrespective of “whatever approach to the problem is ultimately accepted.” This is typical of the International Labour Office. Indeed, it makes no difference to the Office whether or not truly effective action is taken to protect working people’s interests. What does matter to the present leadership of the ILO is to remain a silent weeper or a nearsighted observer wiping in vain the rose-coloured spectacles of social conciliation.

The text of the report is imbued with morbid apprehension of imminent class battles, ideological impotence, and a lack of the political will so essential to the protection of the rights and interests of the planet’s working people. Whom did the compilers of this flexible report hope to “inspire”?



The TNCs are to blame for the hunger, ignorance and poverty of the Third World's population of two billion.

office's leaders suggest to give social protection to unorganized labour? It turns out that this requires “new forms” of organization which are neither trade unions nor community associations. What then? The report recommends that the villagers be made wards of ... employers. This hardly warrants comment.

While admitting that more than three quarters of the able-bodied population of the developing countries can “neither have an adequately paid job nor enjoy a minimum of social pro-

mental right to work and to live a life of dignity. At the same time there is no denying that the solution of these problems—unprecedented in their quantitative and qualitative magnitude—calls for a concerted effort by all the U.N. organizations and the entire world community, rather than by the ILO alone.

The authors of the report put the number of jobless in industrialized countries at 30 million. The true figure is 40 million. The working people's deteriorating socio-economic position

In 1949 the U.S. deliberately released a radioactive cloud. For a long time this was wrapped in deep secrecy. What was the purpose of the dangerous experiment?

The Mystery of the Hanford Cloud

1 THE WORLD FIRST LEARNED OF IT FROM A UPI REPORT DATED MAY 13 THIS YEAR FROM THE AMERICAN WEST COAST CITY OF PORTLAND, OREGON, WHICH BEGAN THUS:

"THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT RELEASED A CLOUD OF RADIOACTIVITY OVER THE NORTHWEST IN 1949 AS PART OF A COLD WAR PLAN..."

Citing a local newspaper, The Oregonian, the report said that the release took place on December 2-3, 1949, at the Hanford Nuclear Reservation, Washington, "to try to locate plutonium plants inside the Soviet Union." "American Intelligence," UPI said, "wanted to determine the direction and distance of a Soviet plant."

Deliberately to release a radioactive cloud? Intentionally to create a hazard to the health and lives of people? These were questions that demanded an answer, especially at a time when some U.S. media, striking a pose of injured innocence, were seeking to make propaganda capital out of the Chernobyl accident.

2 NEW TIMES CONTACTED A NUMBER OF EXPERTS AND, TO OBTAIN MORE DETAILED INFORMATION ABOUT THE HANFORD CLOUD, TELEPHONED OUR NEW YORK CORRESPONDENT ANDREI ARKHIPOV.

Arkhipov set out at once to find the relevant copy of The Oregonian, but this proved easier said than done. At this point a New Times reader came to his aid—former U.S. Air Force flyer Bryan Johns from Portland. Some years ago we had published his letter in our journal and had maintained contact with him ever since, all the more so since Johns is a member of the Oregon Council of American-Soviet Friendship.

Johns procured two issues of The Oregonian (the story had been printed

in two instalments), looked up the author of the article, the paper's reporter Spencer Heinz, and put Arkhipov in touch with him.

3 MEANWHILE WE IN MOSCOW TACKLED ONE OF THE HANFORD RIDDLES: IF THE CLOUD HAD REALLY BEEN RELEASED, COULD IT HAVE REACHED THE SOVIET UNION! We put this question to the well-known nuclear energy expert Vasily Emelyanov, Corresponding Member of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences.

Emelyanov: Nuclear clouds can travel far. For instance, it is known that clouds released by the early American explosions carried out on the surface of the Earth, travelled two or three times around the globe.

What direction did the Hanford cloud take! Obviously the meteorologists are best equipped to answer that. At our request, Taimuraz Ivanidze, head of the U.S.S.R. Hydrometeorological Centre's laboratory of analysis of atmospheric processes in the Northern Hemisphere, went through the records and looked up the weather maps for the Northern Hemisphere for the beginning of December 1949.

Ivanidze: Here an analysis of the situation over a longer period of time is required. For instance, if the cloud went up on March 16-18, 1949, it could have reached our country. At that time at the surface of the Earth and in the lower part of the troposphere there was a cyclone over the northern part of the Pacific, and anticyclones over the parts of the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. adjoining the ocean. On the borderline between the cyclone and the anticyclones air currents moved with a velocity of 40 kilometres an hour from the states of Oregon and Washington in a north-westerly direction through Canada and Alaska to Chukotka.

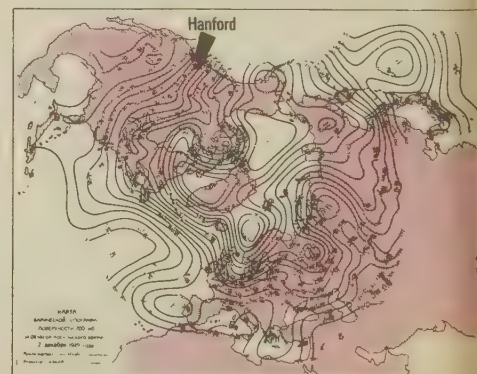
As regards the particular period in question, on December 1, 1949, for instance, the meteorological situation was only slightly conducive to surface winds carrying substances from the Hanford area to the northwest, i.e., along the Pacific coast to the western part of the Bering Sea. Wind speed was then about 30 km an hour. I doubt, however, that in these circumstances a radioactive cloud could have reached the Soviet Far East. As for air currents at higher altitudes, i.e., 3-5 km, they were generally headed east and southeast with a velocity of 60-100 km per hour.

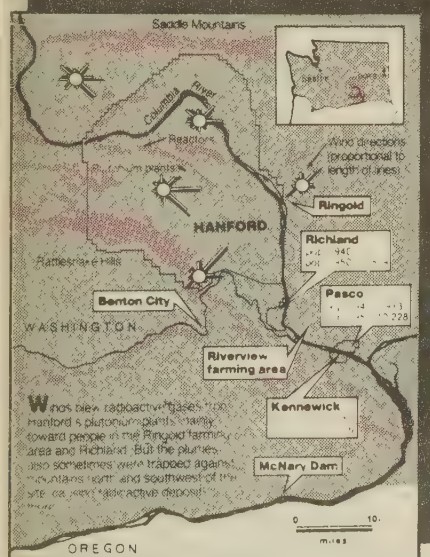
Consequently, the cloud should have headed not towards the Soviet Union but inside U.S. territory!

Ivanidze: Certainly. Let me add that on December 2 the direction of the surface winds also changed. A strong cyclone moved on Alaska from the southwest with the result that the wind turned towards Canada. On December 3 there was a further change in wind direction to the southeast.

The Soviet meteorologist's conclusions fully coincide with the American data. According to the UPI report, some of

The meteorological situation in the Northern Hemisphere as of December 2, 1949. Arrow points to Hanford.





A chart of the Hanford reservation, reproduced from the newspaper *The Oregonian*, shows the population centres exposed to radiation hazard over a long period. The radioactive cloud moved to Ringold township and the surrounding farming area, and then to the city of Richland.

those concerned had wanted "the testing delayed because of the weather at the time, but the experiment went on as scheduled." The wind carried the radioactive cloud first southward and then to the northeast. As a result, parts of Oregon and Washington were under

a cloud 200 miles long and 40 miles wide.

4 AND SO THE FIRST MYSTERY—WHERE THE CLOUD WENT—IS UNRAVELLED. IN THE MEANTIME WE RECEIVED A DISPATCH FROM OUR NEW YORK CORRESPONDENT. HERE IS WHAT SPENCER HEINZ, THE OREGONIAN REPORTER, TOLD HIM.

Heinz: Three months ago the U.S. Energy Department declassified documents relating to 1950. The 19,000 pages of records released included information on numerous leakages of radiation at the Hanford Nuclear Reservation. There was brief mention of the fact that at the end of 1949, a 5,000-curie radioactive plume was deliberately released into the atmosphere. This was done as part of intelligence efforts relating to the emerging Soviet nuclear programme. Nothing was said about the reasons for the test or what department had ordered it.

Having sought information on these questions but not expecting an early and honest reply, Heinz conducted his own investigation. He learned that in the Hanford experiment, code-named Green Run, radioactive fuel of a higher temperature than usual had been used. It had been cooled for 16 instead of 20 days, which caused a very powerful release of radioactive gas (iodine 131) which has a strong cancerogenic effect. The plume extended in the direction of the states of Washington and Oregon, presenting a threat to the population in the valley of the Columbia River. Vegetation in these areas was exposed to levels of radiation 100-600 times higher than those of previous discharges.

5 WHO WAS THE ARCHITECT OF THIS INHUMAN OPERATION THAT JEOPARDIZED THE LIVES OF THOUSANDS! The military authorities, Heinz says. With the consent of the federal government. Experts told Heinz that such an experiment would have been impossible without the knowledge of the Atomic Energy Commission (now known as the Nuclear Regulatory Commission).

Heinz's information was confirmed by another expert, one, moreover, who had witnessed the release of the plume. Our New York correspondent looked him up. His name is Carl Gamertsfelder, and between 1944 and 1952 he was one of Hanford's leading radiation-control managers. He now lives in Knoxville, Tennessee.

"At the time the experiment was being prepared," Gamertsfelder said, "we pointed out that the weather conditions were not the most suitable for it. But as regards the actual object of the experiment we could only conjecture. Had we known definitely what exactly they had in mind, we would have had nothing to do with it. But they stopped at nothing..."

"Could the test have been carried out differently?"

"If emission is released into the atmosphere it is bound sooner or later to affect human beings."

"Do you know anything about the results of the test?"

"No, we were told nothing."

6 WHY WAS THE OPERATION CARRIED OUT AT HANFORD!

The first atomic fission chain reaction was set off in Chicago on December 2, 1942. Literally the next day a search began for a testing ground for the future bomb. Two months later a federal judge ordered thousands of farmers to quit the environs of the quiet little town of Hanford in the state of Washington within 30 days. The site was thus cleared for a nuclear reservation. Eighteen months later the first of the nine reactors there went into operation.

Characteristic of the whole record of the Hanford Reservation is the total disregard for the environment and people's health. As far back as 1954 a report (secret, of course, at the time) was compiled showing that a separations plant was constantly contaminating the surrounding region with radioactive particles. Some of these particles were detected at Spokane, 100 miles away. The same attitude is clearly discernible in the approach of the U.S. authorities to similar undertakings since then. Under constant prodding from the military authorities, experiments are conducted which eventually turn out to be inadequately prepared and which present a direct threat to people's health and lives.

7 THE QUESTION REMAINS: WHY DID THE U.S. MILITARY AUTHORITIES RISK THIS DANGEROUS EXPERIMENT!

Major General (ret.) Philip Gontar says:

I should like to begin by drawing



A map of the atomic bombings of 30 Soviet cities (marked with dots) to have been carried out by American B-29s in accordance with the Offackle plan.

attention to the date of the Hanford experiment—December 1949. It explains many things. Only three months earlier the U.S. military planners had suffered a heavy blow: on September 25, 1949, the Soviet Union announced that an atomic weapon had been tested in our country. This spelled the end of the U.S. atomic monopoly, on which the Pentagon's designs were pivoted.

By that time, judging by documents now made public, a secret military plan code-named Offackle was already operative. Its authors proceeded from the assumption that possession of the atomic weapon would enable the United States to deal the Soviet Union and its "satellites" a military blow that would create a political, economic and military situation and a psychological climate making it possible to attain the objectives set by the allies as regards the U.S.S.R. What were these objectives? They were defined quite brazenly and unambiguously: to break the will and the ability of the Soviet Union to resist. The plan called for a strategic air offensive, using atomic and conventional bombs, to be launched as soon as possible after the beginning of hostilities.

The design, then, was quite definite. Moreover, it should be borne in mind that whereas earlier plans (Pincher and others) had been based on the U.S. monopoly on atomic weapons, now corrections had to be hastily introduced. Offackle, for instance, envisaged the use of atomic weapons by both sides.

One can easily understand how anxious the U.S. military were to find some means of ascertaining as accurately as

possible the Soviet Union's military potential. It was evidently this that explains the purpose of the Hanford experiment and the way it was prepared.

Hanford produced and still produces plutonium. In 1945 it obtained the isotope plutonium 239 which was used in the bomb dropped on Nagasaki. It may be assumed that in this particular instance the purpose of the discharge into the atmosphere was to obtain so-called "calibrating data" to measure radiation levels at different distances and thereby determine the approximate origin of the release. By analogy it was assumed that the type and location of Soviet reactors could be ascertained by comparing radiation levels. In other words, U.S. Intelligence wanted to obtain "calibrating data" for determining the location of Soviet installations.

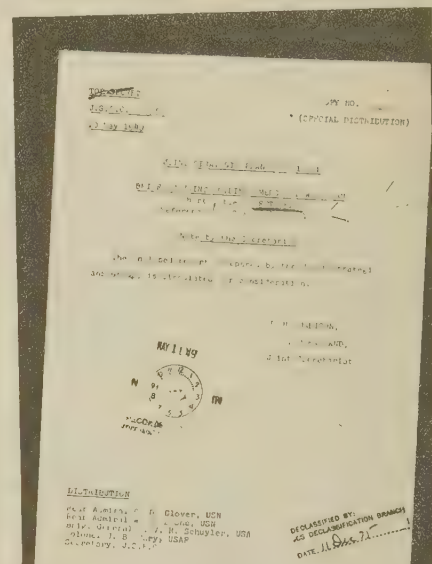
Among other things, the Hanford reactor yielded the isotope iodine 131, and beta-gamma-active isotopes are particularly dangerous when they penetrate the human organism. It was established that the electrons released in the process of their disintegration affect the internal organs of human beings, primarily the thyroid gland. It is therefore quite clear that the experiment was by its very nature hazardous to the inhabitants of the areas adjacent to Hanford. But what did the Pentagon care about that?



IN CONCLUSION WE TURN AGAIN TO OUR NEW YORK CORRESPONDENT ANDREI ARKHIPOV.

According to Spencer Heinz, the Hanford operation was not the only one of its kind. It initiated the development of special methods which were used subsequently as well. Heinz, however, has been unable to find the answers to a number of questions: was the release

method used only in Hanford? How many more lethal releases have there been? Why was there no medical monitoring of the population of Hanford until the late 1950s (as Heinz established) to check up on possible radiation injury? Yet the releases there had a radiation level thousands of times greater than that resulting from the accident at the American Three Mile Island reactor. To this I would add that today too, in violation of federal and state laws, radioactive waste is discharged into the Columbia River and allowed to seep into subsoil water as a matter of routine.



The Offackle plan for an atomic attack on the Soviet Union.

What happened at the Hanford testing ground was not a transient episode. Interviewed by a reporter for The Oregonian, Robert J. Alvarez, director of the Nuclear Weapons and Power Project for the Environmental Policy Institute in Washington, said:

"We are facing the unthinkable of the nuclear age. There is the possibility that in making these weapons [nuclear] that are supposed to protect us we are destroying widening tracts of domestic environment—and maybe creating a human health legacy of major proportions."

What has been the reaction of the inhabitants of the affected areas to the revelations of The Oregonian? Judging by the results of an opinion poll sponsored by the newspaper, "Oregonians are more concerned about releases of radioactivity from the Hanford Nuclear Reservation in the 1940s than about the effects of radiation that recently has reached the northwest from the Soviet nuclear accident."

Compiled by B. BALKAREI

NEW TIMES

23-86

APPOINTMENTS

Ambassador of the U.S.S.R. to the People's Republic of China

OLEG ALEXANDROVICH TROYANOVSKY

Oleg Troyanovsky, a Russian, was born on November 24, 1919, in Moscow. Between 1938 and 1941 he studied at the Moscow Institute of Philosophy, Literature and History, but his studies were cut short by the war. Subsequently he graduated from the Moscow State Pedagogical Institute of Foreign Languages. He has been a member of the CPSU since 1947. At the 26th CPSU Congress he was elected member of the



Central Auditing Commission of the CPSU. At the 27th Party Congress he was elected alternate member of the Central Committee of the

CPSU.

Oleg Troyanovsky entered the diplomatic service in 1944. From 1944 to 1946 he was attaché and then third secretary of the Soviet embassy in Britain. Later he worked as second secretary at the Secretariat of the U.S.S.R. Foreign Ministry, and first secretary of the Second European Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

From 1953 to 1958 he was Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, and between 1958 and 1967 he was Deputy Premier.

From 1967 to 1976 he was ambassador of the U.S.S.R. to

Japan. In 1976 he was a member of the Collegium, and head of the Second Far Eastern Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. From October 1976 to March 1986 he was the permanent representative of the U.S.S.R. in the United Nations and representative of the U.S.S.R. in the U.N. Security Council.

Oleg Troyanovsky has been awarded two Orders of Lenin, the Order of the October Revolution, two orders of the Red Banner of Labour, the Badge of Honour Order and a number of medals. He is also a Lenin prize winner.

Ambassador of the U.S.S.R. to Spain

SERGEI KALISTRATOVICH ROMANOVSKY

Sergei Romanovsky, a Russian, was born on October 21, 1923, in the village of Novoseltsy, Rudnyansky District, Smolensk Region. In 1948 he graduated from the Moscow State Institute of International Relations. He is a Candidate of Sciences (history). He has been a member of the CPSU since 1943.

Sergei Romanovsky took part in the Great Patriotic



War, fought on the Western and Bryansk fronts and was wounded several times.

From 1948 to 1950 he

worked as assistant editor and then editor of the *Komsomolskaya Pravda* newspaper. In 1950-53 he was secretary of the World Federation of Democratic Youth. From 1953 to 1957 he was chairman of the U.S.S.R. Committee of Youth Organizations and in 1957-59, secretary of the Central Committee of the Young Communist League.

In 1959-60 he was U.S.S.R. Deputy Minister of Culture. From 1960 to 1968, Deputy Chairman and then Chairman of the State Committee of the

Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. for the Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries. In 1968-75 Romanovsky was ambassador to Norway, and in 1975-84, to Belgium. From 1984 to 1986 he was first deputy chairman of the Board of the U.S.S.R. Copyright Agency.

Sergei Romanovsky has been awarded the orders of the Patriotic War First Class, the Red Star, Friendship of the Peoples, the Badge of Honour and several medals.

Ambassador of the U.S.S.R. to Denmark

BORIS NIKOLAYEVICH PASTUKHOV

Boris Pastukhov, a Russian, was born on October 10, 1933, in Moscow. In 1958 he graduated from the Bauman High Technical School in Moscow. He has been a member of the CPSU since 1959. He is a deputy of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet. At the 23rd,



24th and 25th CPSU congresses he was elected alternate member and at the 27th Congress, member of the CPSU Central Committee.

After graduation he was a Young Communist League functionary and in 1958-61 he was second, and then first secretary of the Bauman Regional YCL Committee. From 1961 to 1964 he was second and then first secretary of the

Moscow YCL City Committee. In 1964-77 he was secretary and in 1977-82, first secretary of the Central Committee of the YCL.

From 1982 to 1986 Boris Pastukhov was chairman of the State Committee for Publishing, Printing and Book Trade.

Pastukhov has been awarded the Order of Lenin, three orders of the Red Banner of Labour, and several medals.

Ambassador of the U.S.S.R. to Burundi

VALERY VASILYEVICH TSYBUKOV

Valery Tsybukov, a Byelorussian, was born on April 5, 1932, in Moscow. In 1957 he graduated from the Moscow State Institute of International Relations. He has been a member of the CPSU since 1963.

Immediately after graduation, he was sent to work at



the U.S.S.R. consulate-general in Gdansk, Poland. From 1960 to 1971 he worked at the head office of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs as attaché, third and then second secretary of the Fourth European Department. In 1971-73 he was assistant to the U.S.S.R. Minister of Foreign Affairs.

From 1973 to 1979 he was

minister-counsellor at the U.S.S.R. Embassy in Belgium. Later he returned to work at the head office of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and from 1983 to 1986 was member of the Collegium of the Ministry.

Valery Tsybukov has been awarded two orders of the Badge of Honour, and a number of medals.

An early parliamentary election will be held in Spain on June 22. Along with socio-economic issues, the question of Spanish participation in NATO and relations with the socialist countries feature prominently in the election campaign

Meeting Felipe Gonzalez

ANATOLY KRASIKOV

On a recent official visit to the U.S.S.R. Felipe Gonzalez, Spanish Premier and General Secretary of the Socialist Workers' Party of Spain (PSOE), found time to meet newsmen.

I had the good fortune to talk to him before his press conference and then again before the delegation was to leave Moscow (regrettably, he did not have time to reply to my written questions). I met Felipe Gonzalez first exactly ten years ago in Madrid when the country's last fascist government had left the scene and Adolfo Suarez, the new premier, was about to tackle the crucial task of dismantling the Franco system.

In the summer of 1976 the leaders of the opposition parties—Communists, Socialists, Christian Democrats and other anti-fascists—met for a semi-legal conference in Madrid to reaffirm demands for the recognition of all political parties without exception. Shortly afterwards, I went along with a friend to the PSOE Central Committee at its unassuming quarters at 165 Joaquin Garcia Morato Street (named so after the famous Francoist pilot and subsequently given its old name Santa Engracia), not far from Cuatro Caminos Square. There was not yet any sign on the Central Committee building at that time, and the party itself was still officially banned. However, we had no difficulty in entering the building and

taking the lift to the sixth floor.

Having shown our identification papers to the worker guards, we entered the General Secretary's office. A stocky man of 30 or 35, with a thick mop of black hair, rose from behind the table to greet us. He wore neither jacket nor tie, and had nothing in common with the refined intellectual Suarez. But his frank expression, kindly smile, and simple and natural behaviour evoked immediate rapport. In five minutes or so we were already on a friendly footing with Felipe Gonzalez; indeed we seemed to have known one another for a long time. The conversation, in which Alfonso Guerra and others of his close friends also took part, demonstrated that we had before us an erudite person who, depending on the circumstances, could act as raconteur, public speaker, debater, or diplomat. No wonder that within a few years he had become the country's most popular political leader.

Felipe Gonzalez Marquez was born in Seville on March 5, 1942. His father, who came from northern Spain, had settled in a suburb of the Andalusian capital some 13 or 14 years earlier to breed cattle. "Everyone in our family worked, and I grew up with a deep respect for work," Felipe related. "As a boy I would get up at five in the morning to help my parents with their

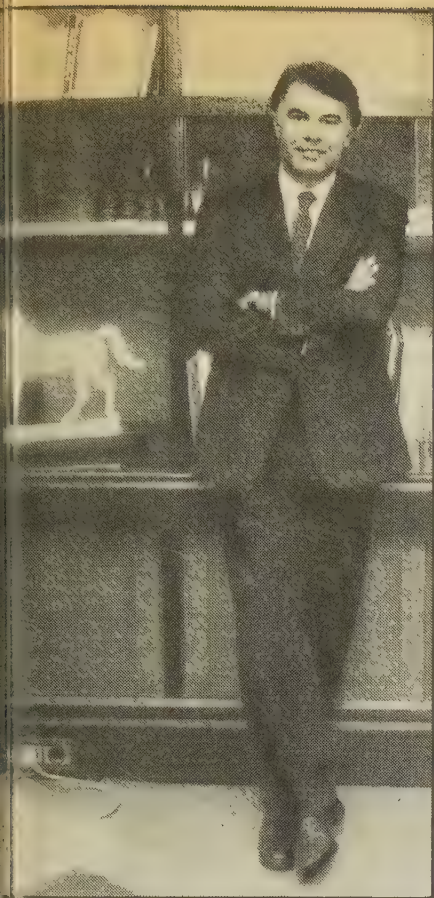
chores." The Gonzalezes had four children—two boys and two girls, but only Felipe was able to receive a university education in law. From his teens he was an avid reader of the democratic poets Machado and Lorca who profoundly influenced his outlook.

While at university, Felipe joined the student and working-class movement, and established a close relationship with the democratic wing of the Catholic Working Youth. Though at the time he, like his father, was of an atheist tendency, he did not adopt a militantly anti-religious attitude. After making friends with the young Socialists Alfonso Guerra, Luis Yanez and Alfonso Fernandez Malo he eventually joined the Socialist Workers' Party. "I am convinced," he told me, "that we shall soon have a Socialist government."

That came about six and a half years later. At the time, however, we merely glimpsed into the future, as we were more interested in the topical issues then besetting Spain. "The rightists," the PSOE General Secretary noted, "would like to split the anti-Franco front. However, we understand that either we have democracy for everyone or no democracy at all, so we shall not allow the government to discriminate against our Communist comrades in the struggle."

Indeed, when the Cortes elected by general ballot in 1977 formed a commission to draft a constitution, it included, along with three representatives of the Suarez-led Union of the Democratic Centre, one representative each of all the country's major political forces, notably, the right-wing Popular Alliance, the bourgeois nationalists, the Socialists and the Communists. The constitution was unanimously endorsed by the commission. True, the men of yesterday tried again and again to halt the nation's advance by engineering conspiracies and attempted coups, but they failed to make the country swerve from its chosen path.

Even then the issue of the basic foreign policy trends was extremely acute. The militarists made no secret of their plans to bind the country to NATO. Suarez did what he could to resist their pressure. Subsequently he told me that he realized it would be easier to block entry into this military-political bloc than it would be later to try to withdraw from it. The Atlanticists realized that too and did their best to force Suarez to resign. The shift to the right coincided with the advent to



Felipe Gonzalez.

power of the Reagan Administration in the U.S.

The sacrifice of the country's paramount interests resulted in the disintegration of the ruling Union of the Democratic Centre and the polarization of political forces between the Popular Alliance and the Socialist Workers' Party. Losing not only popular but even parliamentary backing, the pro-Atlanticist government of Calvo Sotelo was forced to hold pre-term parliamentary elections.

The polling day on October 28, 1982 was calm. But that same night the ubiquitous information media showed Spain that a further page in the annals of the nation's history was being turned. They watched the changing alignment of political forces and saw yesterday's leaders become private citizens without political authority or influence, and hitherto unknown individuals acquire the mandate to govern.

The news flashes from the central electoral commission did not leave a shadow of doubt that the Socialists had won with a landslide. Thousands of supporters, who gathered at the Hotel Palas that night joyfully applauded

each fresh news flash confirming the overwhelming victory. The ten million votes polled by the Socialists (nearly twice as many as at the previous elections) gave them an absolute majority in both houses of parliament and the possibility of forming a one-party government.

In the past, voters who supported the Union of the Democratic Centre had for the most part been impressed by the personal charisma of its leader, Adolfo Suarez, who had greatly contributed to Spain's deliverance from Francoism. This time, the vote for the Socialist candidates was largely a manifestation of popular liking for the young opposition leader, who had found a common language with the masses and promised to deal with their urgent problems.

Now, after three and a half years of Socialist government, new parliamentary elections have been scheduled for June 22, and again they are pre-term. Many news analysts think Gonzalez is trying to exploit the opportune situation resulting from the recent successful referendum on NATO membership. Public opinion polls predict an electoral victory for the PSOE. Voters are prepared to forgive the Socialists many of their sins, as long as the right never regain power.

At this moment, when the PSOE mandate is to be extended for the next four years, we were understandably more interested in the country's foreign policy. Speaking about the outcome of his Moscow visit and describing prospects for bilateral cooperation, the Spanish Premier stressed:

"Spain seeks to promote bilateral ties with the Soviet Union in the commercial, economic, cultural and political spheres. We also want to continue our dialogue over the entire range of international issues and jointly seek ways of enabling us to advance to a more lasting peace. As far as commerce is concerned, you might remember that a representative group of industrialists visited Moscow, and while here we signed a protocol for further bilateral economic and industrial cooperation. A long-term programme is being drafted in this area. Contacts in the fields of culture and sport and between public organizations have taken a stride forward. New areas of cooperation have appeared including environmental protection. We shall continue and expand political dialogue. We have already agreed to put political consultations between our two countries on a more regular basis and cover a broader range of issues of mutual interest."

Felipe Gonzalez said he was highly satisfied with the results of his conversations with Mikhail Gorbachev. It was a wide-ranging and interesting discussion, he said. "We put questions to one another straight from the shoulder, answered them, put more questions, and spoke quite freely and frankly. I think we have profited by this discussion."

Coming as it did shortly after the Socialists changed their earlier stance and sought—successfully—to continue with NATO membership, the Gonzalez visit to Moscow is regarded by some Spanish politicians as a pre-election stratagem, an attempt to show the electorate that good relations can still be maintained with the U.S.S.R. We noted earlier the reasons for the PSOE's change of attitude in this matter (see No. 14 for this year). Now we wondered how Gonzalez himself explains this combination of Atlanticism and readiness to cooperate with the Soviet Union and what he thinks today about the provision laid down in the joint communiqué of the December 1977 Moscow meeting between the delegations of the CPSU and PSOE. The provision stated: "The delegations have reaffirmed the positions of their respective parties as to the need to bridge the present division of the world into opposed military-political blocs and are against their enlargement."

The Premier replied as follows: "It may be that some misinterpret what I say and plan to do, but I would like the bloc policy to be superseded one fine day. While saying this I appreciate the circumstance that Spain is a member of a definite alliance and intends to discharge the commitments this membership entails."

Felipe Gonzalez went on to say that he advocates a reduction in the level of military confrontation throughout the world in general and in the Mediterranean in particular, to the minimum, with the overall balance of forces maintained.

It follows from what Gonzalez has said—if we have understood him aright—that what he wants is to remain in NATO and pursue within it a policy of lessening international tensions, getting the opposed military-political alliances disbanded, and having normal relationships established between all states.

The future will show whether or not this approach is realistic. ■

Madrid—Moscow

Photo from Cambio 16 (Spain)

Who is trying to keep the long-closed "German question" open and why?

Ministry of Revanche

Otfried Hennig, Secretary of State at the West German Ministry for Intra-German Relations, delivered a report in San Francisco on November 22 last year, that is, on the day after the ending of the Soviet-American summit. This visitor from the banks of the Rhine did not say a word about the Geneva meeting which had generated hopes of an improvement in the international situation. But he did expatiate in detail on the theme that the Soviet Union is supposedly making disarmament proposals for the sole purpose of "concealing its real aims" which are to include the Federal Republic, and with it the whole of Western Europe, in the sphere of its "dominion." This official representative of the F.R.G. government did not conceal from his American listeners his vicious anti-Sovietism and used expressions that, out of respect for our readers, we cannot reproduce.

The tireless Hennig made yet another speech in the same spirit, this time in London. Declaring the "German question" to be "open," he urged the allies, just as in San Francisco, to help "end the division of Germany and Europe." Since Hennig's London speech was published in a government bulletin, there can be no doubts as to its official character. More than that, Hennig himself stressed that in London he represented his Minister.

Heinrich Windelen was appointed Minister for Intra-German Relations in March 1983 after the victory of the conservative-liberal coalition in the general elections. On its own, wrote the Social Democratic weekly *Vorwärts*, this appointment said a lot about the new government's programme. It was enough to recall that in 1972, together with 15 other deputies from the CDU/CSU, Windelen voted in the Bundestag against the treaty with Poland. He was also among the opponents of the treaty with Czechoslovakia and the treaty on the bases of relations between the F.R.G. and the G.D.R. Windelen abstained when the Moscow Treaty was tabled for ratification but unambiguously expressed his attitude to it in his book "SOS

for Europe." The Moscow Treaty, he wrote, "is a concession to non-freedom."

"Windelen has always been a determined opponent of détente," *Vorwärts* wrote at the time. "And it is very likely that on assuming his new responsible post he will remain true to himself." Today these apprehensions have proved justified. But what can be expected of a man who has for many years been chairman of the parliamentary council of the Union of Expellees, the principal organization of revanchist "fraternities" in the F.R.G.? Hennig is no stranger to revanchist circles, either. He is one of the leaders of the East-Prussian fraternity. So their appointment to the Ministry for Intra-German Relations has its logic. Both the Ministry and the Union of Expellees pursue the same aim—to revise postwar territorial and political realities in Europe.

The booklet "What Do You Want to Know About Us?" which any customer can buy in the store at No.140 Godesberger Allee where Windelen's office is located, says: "The Federal Ministry for Intra-German Relations does not belong to the 'classic' ones found in every country." It was set up in 1949, immediately after the appearance of the separate Bonn state on the territory of the three Western-occupied zones. At the time it was called the Ministry for All-German Affairs. Its name emphasized Bonn's claims not only to the G.D.R., which was formed five months later, but also to territories belonging to other countries. The ministry was renamed after the signing of the Eastern treaties, which confirmed the inviolability of European borders. The new name was to create the impression that relations between the two states supposedly had a special, internal character as they are not "foreign countries" with respect to each other.

Of course, these are illusions. In reality there are no special relations. The G.D.R. has repeatedly stressed that these relations can be based only on respect for the territorial integrity, independence and sovereignty of each of the German states in its internal and foreign affairs. In other words, on the

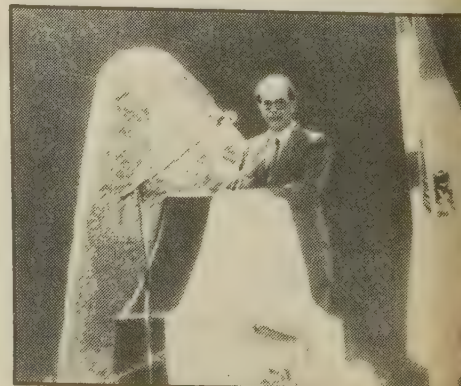
principles recorded in the treaty on the bases of relations between the F.R.G. and the G.D.R., signed in 1972. The German Democratic Republic strictly adheres to these principles. That is why the diplomatic representatives of the German socialist state have no dealings whatsoever with the Ministry for Intra-German Relations, a highly placed official in Windelen's ministry complained to me.

But of course he had no reason to complain. After all, who knows better than he that the activities of the "Intra-German" ministry have nothing to do with the task of developing equal, good-neighbourly relations between the sovereign German states. For its main concern is to keep the "German question" open, to harp on the idea of "the reunification of Germany."

For this purpose the ministry and the All-German Institute subordinate to it put out huge amounts of free propaganda literature, hold seminars and stage exhibitions. In 1984 alone (data for 1985 is yet to be published), the Ministry organized 3,100 seminars attended by 93,000 people. As for the All-German Institute, it conducted 958 such functions attended by 30,000 people. Such seminars last anything from one day to two weeks. The so-called "multipliers," that is, people capable of further disseminating the information received—teachers, officials of various societies and Bundeswehr officers—are the main participants in such seminars.

Here special attention is given to the indoctrination of schoolchildren. As early as 1978 the standing conference of land ministers for religious affairs recommended that the "German question" be taught in schools. Teachers were ordered to hammer into the heads of children such theses as "Germany is more than the Federal Republic," the "German Reich continues to exist juridically," Germans living in the G.D.R. are part of "our whole people." Windelen, however, decided that these ideas were

Heinrich Windelen, a regular speaker at revanchist rallies.



being propagated insufficiently vigorously and placed the teaching of the "German question" under his control.

Almost immediately after his appointment to the ministerial post, he held a conference with the land ministers for religious affairs in April 1983 to "exchange experience and information." This was followed by a whole series of other consultations with representatives of the land ministries. Windelen's ministry drew up for teachers a list of relevant literature containing 60 titles. As from 1985 this literature is being sent to schools. The All-German Institute annually publishes school calendars devoted to the "pan-German issue."

All this, naturally, requires money, and large sums at that. The austerity programme pursued by the conservative-liberal government, which is slashing spending on social needs, including

ed mainly by the Ministry of Internal Affairs and also by the land governments and local authorities.)

What are the results of all this frenetic and expensive activity? Is the ministry succeeding in achieving its goal of sustaining the "pan-German" national consciousness in the Bundesburghers? The results of sociological studies convincingly demonstrate that it is not. In 1974, 7 West Germans in ten believed that despite their political and economic differences the G.D.R. and the F.R.G. are a "national unity." Ten years later this opinion was shared by only 42 per cent of the population, mostly people of the older generation. As for the majority—53 per cent—its view was that "national unity" was completely out of the question.

Proceeding from the results of these studies, Professor Reinhard Kühnl of

"national unity" and the "juridical" existence of the Reich within the borders of 1937 in schools, at various seminars and symposia, in the press, on the radio and on television is reviving revanchist sentiments among certain elements in the population. It is beginning to seem to the "eternal has-beens" that they have a future. Slogans of the type "Silesia is still ours" are being proclaimed and publicly discussed. Articles, scenarios in fact, describing the invasion of neighbouring socialist countries by Bundeswehr tanks are appearing in revanchist newspapers.

Of course, all this is not solely the result of the propaganda activity of the Intra-German Ministry.

Recently, for the fourth time since coming to office, Chancellor Helmut Kohl delivered in the Bundestag the annual government statement "On the State of the Nation in Divided Germany" ("What nation are you referring to?"—one of the deputies queried but got no answer). Traditionally the fundamental points of the government's "German policy" are outlined in the annual statements. This time the Chancellor did not say anything new. He repeated the threadbare theses about the "German question remaining open from the historical, legal and political points of view" and that "freedom is its nucleus." After admitting that "the inviolability of borders and respect for the territorial integrity and sovereignty of all states in Europe... is the fundamental condition of peace" he immediately added that the "German question" should be resolved "within a European framework," in conditions of freedom. Considering that the word "freedom" is for him synonymous with capitalism, it emerges that the aim of the F.R.G.'s German policy is to liquidate socialism everywhere in Europe. The idea is far from new. True, Chancellor Konrad Adenauer formulated it more simply: "To liberate not only the Soviet zone but also all of enslaved Europe on that side of the Iron Curtain." Adenauer's spiritual heir, as Kohl once called himself, uses a much more flowery style. But the essence of the policy remains the same. It is a policy of revanche which was and remains the main source of the danger of war in Europe.

A. TOLPEGIN

Our Own Correspondent

Bonn

The Registrars from Salzgitter

The F.R.G. authorities stubbornly refuse to recognize the existence of G.D.R. citizenship. In so doing, they refer to an article in the Federal Constitution that provides for a single "pan-German citizenship." The *reductio ad absurdum* is that when citizens of the G.D.R. come to the F.R.G. on business they are sent draft cards for service in the Bundeswehr or invited to take part in elections to the Bundestag. And this is not just an outgrowth of casuistry. It is a deliberate policy to aggravate relations with a neighbouring state and ignore the postwar status quo in Europe.

The so-called "registration centre" in Salzgitter (Lower Saxony) is one of the instruments of this policy. What does this centre register? Everything that does not suit Bonn. For example, instances when G.D.R. frontier guards apprehend violators of their republic's border. Furthermore, for more than 20 years this "centre" has been trying to conduct investigations of offences committed by citizens of the G.D.R. in their own country. Thus, in the period from 1961 to 1984 the "centre" in Salzgitter initiated 31,000 criminal proceedings against citizens of the G.D.R., a sovereign socialist state. Are not attempts to extend the jurisdiction of criminal courts to the territory and citizens of the G.D.R. a violation of international law, which is such a favourite subject in Bonn?

education, has not affected the Ministry for Intra-German Relations. On the contrary, its budget has grown from 439 million marks in 1982 to almost 770 million in 1986. These huge sums are spent not only on the upkeep of staff at the Ministry (450 men) and the All-German Institute (250), financing their activities, and publishing and distributing propaganda literature. Millions of marks are deposited in the accounts of the revanchist "fraternities." The ministry maintains particularly close ties with the Union of Germans from Central Germany which unites in its ranks individuals who had fled from the G.D.R. (former nazis, landowners, businessmen and all sorts of renegades). It is this union, which has set itself the task of liquidating the socialist system in the G.D.R., that receives the biggest cash grants from the ministry. (The other revanchist fraternities are being financ-

Marburg University, a prominent political scientist, wrote in his new book "Nation, Nationalism, and the National Question" that there has appeared in the F.R.G. a "Federal-Republican national consciousness" corresponding to the concrete social and economic conditions in the country. "Taking place in our country is the same process as in the G.D.R.," the Professor writes. "The differences in way of life and working conditions, in the forms and content of education determine the different experience and views, customs and habits. And with time these differences become more pronounced as each state goes its own way." In other words, a socialist German nation is forming in the G.D.R. and a capitalist one in the F.R.G. This finds reflection in the consciousness of the people as well. Such is the logical historical process that cannot be stopped by any incantations or subterfuges.

But nor can one fail to see something else. The persistent propaganda about



Megalopolis on the Nile

ALEXEI VASILYEV, D. Sc. (Hist.)

From time to time Egypt is rocked by social unrest. In mid-April, El-Minya, and in early May, Aswan saw religious riots in which police clashed with Muslim extremists. In the second half of March the Israeli section at Cairo's international exhibition was attacked. At about the same time students in Aswan staged an anti-Israeli and anti-American demonstration. A strike at a textile mill in a Cairo suburb ended in more than 500 arrests. But the biggest event of recent years was the "policemen's revolt" in late February.

Contrasts... Contrasts

To assess the situation in Egypt in the wake of the "policemen's revolt" one should look not only or largely at the political aspect of the affair, but at its socio-economic background. Social tension in the country had come to a head. The revolt, too, was preceded by unrest, notably over the grounding of

an Egyptian airliner by the Americans. Last year several dozen Muslim extremists were arrested and their leader, Salama, deported to Saudi Arabia. Some of the mosques where the more zealous fundamentalists had preached were "closed for repairs."

The Sadat legacy which Mubarak inherited is a heavy burden on the country. By dismantling the revolutionary democratic regime created by Nasser and negotiating a separate deal with Israel Sadat claimed he would bring Egypt prosperity and higher living standards and raise its international prestige. The real results of this policy, however, were a thriving caste of new rich, growing social contrasts and the loss of face in the international community.

New high-rise buildings on the banks of the Nile, expensive nightclubs and traffic jams in the capital (which has about a million cars) are symbols of the prosperity of Egypt's upper crust.

But what of the mass of the popula-

tion? It would be simplistic to say that their living standards have gone down. Of the total of 49 million, between 20 and 25 million saw their incomes raised by money remittances from some 3-4 million emigrant workers. This has helped to alleviate the impact of rising prices. There is no hunger in Egypt although, according to the newspaper Al-Ahram, 40 per cent live below the poverty line. Virtually everyone can afford the government-subsidized basic foods such as unleavened bread, beans, vegetable oil, sugar and tea. Petrol, gas and electricity are cheaper than in some other countries.

Throughout human history popular discontent has been prompted by social contrasts, by relative rather than ab-

This Egyptian fellah smiles in the face of adversity.



solute poverty. The inhabitants of slums in Cairo's Bulak and Sayida Zeinab districts see the sumptuous mansions in the fashionable quarters of Giza and Heliopolis and are aware of the empty flats with swimming pools in Zamalek waiting for a buyer with a spare half million pounds in his pocket. People hanging in clusters from buses risk falling on the gleaming tops of Mercedeses, Volvos and Datsuns. Families eating bean stew with flatbread after their working day know that customers at the casinos in the Street of the Pyramids eat dinners that cost a worker's yearly wage.

The New Rich, the Fellahin and the Marginals

It would no longer be true to say that Egypt is a country where labour can be bought for a song. The migration of a considerable and in many ways the best part of the work force, intellectuals, doctors, teachers and many fellahin to the Arab oil states pushes up the cost of labour in Egypt itself, mainly in the private sector. But this applies only to those who have a job. And wages do not always keep up with galloping inflation.

Egypt is crowded and is going to be even more crowded, with the country's population increasing by a million people every ten months. They live on the 3-4 per cent of developed territory, the rest being desert. Greater Cairo has a population of 12-13 million. One of the largest cities in the Old World, it will have a population of 20-28 million by the end of the century.

Cairo and Alexandria are sprawling to reduce the distance between them. A highway has brought the Suez Canal zone closer to the capital, which is absorbing nearby towns one after another. It is predicted that by the beginning of the 21st century the whole of Egypt with its estimated population of 60-65 million will be one huge megalopolis with a suburban kitchen garden to support it. It will be short of housing, water, energy and fresh air.

Egypt is not only the most populous Arab country, it has also the biggest work force comprising millions of workers, hundreds of thousands of students, scientists, engineers, technicians and artisans. Now that oil prices have fallen an efficient use of this work force may prove a more important factor than oil revenues. The question is what economic policy to pursue.

To develop normally, the future Egyptian mega-city must become a major industrial producer and exporter.

The trouble is, however, that Sadat's policy of "open doors" (infitah) did not result in any substantial economic growth. The biggest enterprises are still those built in the years of Soviet-Egyptian cooperation. Capitalism, which swept back into Egypt after Sadat's counterrevolution, is parasitic in character, more so, in fact, than in the days of Ismail Pasha, the khedive of Egypt in the 19th century when Anglo-French domination was established.

Private money pours into trade, speculation, monetary operations, at best into real estate and hotel business, and not into industry or agriculture. The rapid growth of the national income in the late 70s and early 80s (7-8 per cent a year) did not, as expected, bring about a major increase in export capacity.

The boon of high oil prices in the late 70s and early 80s has worn off. Last year Egypt recorded a balance of trade deficit of \$5 billion. An attempt to bridge the gap with loans has brought foreign debts to more than \$30 billion (according to some estimates, to \$37). Measured against the national income, Egypt's debt burden is much heavier than that of Brazil, Mexico or Argentina. Now the country has to incur more debts to pay interest on old ones. No wonder Egypt is under growing pressure from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) whose main demand is that it abolish subsidies on prime necessity goods, i. e., bring down the living standard of the masses.

Another important lever of pressure on the country is American economic aid which stands at roughly \$1 billion a year (\$815 million last year). True, American investment now goes chiefly into the economic infrastructure. But it is also true that the real amount of aid is less than this figure, because it includes charges for transportation from the U.S.A., consultancy services and the upkeep of American offices in Egypt.

The Nile valley and delta, cultivated by the work of hundreds of generations, is no longer able to feed the whole of Egypt. While as late as the 60s the growth of agricultural output outstripped the growth of the population, the situation changed dramatically in the 70s and especially in the 80s. Egypt imports about half its food, including wheat (almost four fifths of its needs), half of all fats and sugar, and a third of its fish. Washington exerts constant pressure on Egyptian policy through food supplies. (Incidentally, among the U.S. embassies around the world the one in Cairo is the largest.)

The picture is bleak, as the reader will readily see. But is the situation

hopeless? Perhaps not. Although the lands brought into cultivation by the Aswan Dam are being rapidly absorbed by urban growth, there is still untapped arable land. It is planned to increase the cultivated area by roughly a half before the end of the century by bringing in 4 million feddans (1 feddan=0.42 hectares) of new land. The Egyptian peasant has always been noted for his industry and tenacity in the face of the desert. Crop yields in Egypt are high by the standards of the



Unrest in the Egyptian security forces started on February 25 this year and affected 4 of the 26 provinces. According to the newspaper *Al-Shaab*, more than 150 people were killed and about 500 wounded in clashes. In an interview to the newspaper *May*, President Mubarak said there were no grounds for suspecting foreign interference or religious involvement in the riots. In a speech before a joint session of the People's Assembly and the Consultative Council the President noted the "hard conditions" of service in the internal security forces. The photo shows a group of policemen who have laid down their arms.

developing world. Vigorous investment in agriculture, in the production of fertilizers and farm machinery and a change in rural policy could help solve the food problem.

Those who advocate rural development in Asia, Africa and Latin America along capitalist lines usually avoid citing the example of Egypt. The reason is that the introduction of capitalism in the country's agrarian sector has failed to solve its problems and created many new ones. In Egypt's agriculture, less than 200,000 families, i.e., 5 per cent of households, own two fifths of the arable land, three in every four tractors and half of other implements. The same 5 per cent of families account for all marketable cattle and most of the marketable food output. They get most animal feeds at soft government prices, bank credits, and the best seeds and fertilizers. And yet they have failed to bring rural prosperity.

In the strict sense of the word, Egypt has ceased to be a land of fellahin. It is not only that agriculture today accounts for a relatively small part of the

national income. Numerically, the fellahin are a social minority.

Such social change, difficult and painful in itself, is aggravated by a number of factors. There are many victims of the capitalist "modernization" of Egypt, those who have not been integrated in the new structures. A large stratum of people without a permanent occupation and job has formed in the cities. They are the so-called marginals, people on the way to becoming proletarians. The gap between wealth and poverty, psychological strain and failure to adjust spawn crime and drug addiction.

On the other hand, the marginals try to preserve their former social links, grouping themselves around mosques and local residents' associations. Almost all of them dream of having their own shop or service establishment. Their ideology is popular Islam and their political behaviour is marked by proneness to spontaneous revolt followed by quick withdrawal into a shell of outward docility.

The cleavage in Egypt is cultural as well as social. The new home-grown capitalists are Western-oriented in their mode of life, culture and convictions. But the Americanization of their way of life, views and behaviour is a challenge to the sentiments, traditions and culture of the masses who live within the Islamic system of values. The ideas of Islamic fundamentalism appeal not only to the illiterate masses, but also to hundreds of thousands of students and young graduates who see no future for themselves. One should add to these the several-million-strong Christian (Coptic) minority who regard the rising Muslim extremism with apprehension. The cultural duality of Egyptian society contributes to social tensions already aggravated by the country's damaged image in the Islamic community as a result of its forced cooperation with Israel.

Revising Priorities

From his early months as President, Hosni Mubarak has sought to limit the influence of the "Sadat clan" and lessened the appetites of "the fat cats of infitah." However, their economic positions and links with the ruling party and government apparatus proved to be too strong. The corruption trials that were begun soon petered out. The new parasitic capitalist class has

largely retained its influence.

The Sadat regime's efforts of almost a decade to boost private enterprise, even at the expense of the public sector, did not substantially weaken the economic position of the state. It remained strong in the sphere of credits and finance despite the abandonment of the planned economy principles and the erosion of the monopoly of foreign trade. The public sector was in fact strengthened when Mubarak launched a revision of economic priorities. According to Abdel Wahab, the Industry Minister, in the fiscal year 1983/84, 80 public-owned companies made a profit, 34 were operating at a loss and 3 were broke, while in 1984/85, 92 companies made net profits and the number of loss-making companies dropped by half.

Mubarak's economic programme envisaged greater foreign investment in the production sphere, the redressing of imbalances in the economy and encouragement of private and foreign capital in priority areas. To defuse social tensions, a large-scale programme was launched to build cheap housing, some improvements were made in the public health service and minimum wages and salaries were raised. The poorest peasants had their debts written off, middle peasants had interest on their debts reduced and social security was extended to new sections of the population. Taxes on high incomes were raised as were import taxes on luxury goods. Yet all these measures proved half-hearted and produced little effect. Inflation ran ahead of wages.

The regime has been somewhat more successful in renewing the party, parliamentary and government machine. Opposition leaders jailed by Sadat have been freed, normal relations have been established with most opposition groups and with the Coptic church. Almost half the members of parliament from the ruling National Democratic Party have been replaced. There have been several government reshuffles. Bans on opposition newspapers have been lifted and Sadat's emergency legislation has been partly repealed or relaxed somewhat.

Egypt has managed to mend its fences with some Arab countries and bring down tensions in the relations with others. Real economic ties with them are expanding, not decreasing. Egypt has regained its seat in the Organization of Islamic Conference, though not in the Arab League. Camp David is still a major obstacle to Egypt's return to the Arab fold which in Nasser's day it led.

The struggle over the choice of path continues. Although most of the policy-makers favour the former course (with certain adjustments) there is a growing demand for serious change. The left-wing National Progressive Unionist Party and other organizations advocate a return to the national democratic path.

Nothing lasts for ever, even in the shadow of the Sphinx and the pyramids. The Egyptians are unshakeable optimists and, in spite of all the vicissitudes of fate, believe in the future.

Photos by author and from Time (U.S.A.)

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The press in America and Western Europe has again been writing about the foreign debts of the U.S.S.R. and the East European socialist countries, which increased in 1985 and are expected to go up again this year. Does this not tend to make the Eastern bloc more dependent on the West financially and economically!

Marc WELLINGTON

London, Britain



NIKOLAI PETROV,
D.Sc. (Econ.),
replies:

The foreign debts of the socialist countries have been a subject of speculation in the Western press since the late 70s. The theme crops up from time to time in the speeches of Western leaders. Let us take a closer look at the question.

One does not have to be an economist to understand that in our day the buying and selling of goods more and more often involves credit facilities. In your daily life you have probably bought things on credit many times. And if you happen to be a businessman, you probably avail yourself of credits in your own affairs. The same is practised in the relations between states. Governments and private companies grant each other credits in making deals. Banks look for reliable clients in order to lend them money at a certain interest.

I wonder if you are aware that the main users of credits today are not the socialist, nor even the developing countries. Anyone who is interested in the problem knows that the industrialized capitalist countries account for much more than half of international debts. For example, the U.S. owes foreign investors about as much as all developing countries put together (about 1,000,000 mil-

lion dollars). So, the fact that the Soviet Union and other socialist countries avail themselves of credits is not an exception but common practice in present-day economic relations. When international banks offer credits to the U.S.S.R. they are not doing us a favour. That bankers are interested in giving credits to the Soviet Union is proved by the fact that each time a consortium of banks is formed to extend hard-currency credits to the Soviet Union the number of those wishing to take part in the deal far exceeds the demand.

You ask whether indebtedness entails the danger of the socialist countries becoming financially and economically dependent on the West. I can assure you that there is no connection between these phenomena.

The growth of the total debts of the socialist countries does not automatically mean that their monetary situation is deteriorating. For example, in 1985, as Western economists have noted, some East European socialist countries used new credits to build up their currency stocks. These stocks have now reached a level that enables them to pay for their imports from capitalist countries for six months. I should say that this is considered to be a very high level of currency reserve.

The planned economy under socialism creates objective conditions for the effective use of foreign resources (including credits) for the purpose of economic development. That is why socialist states constantly seek to expand commercial, economic, scientific and technological ties with all countries. Such ties at present usually involve the granting of credits. The Soviet Union does not only receive credits but also gives them to other countries.

TAKING UP A POINT

Does the repayment of debts always go smoothly? Of course not. For a socialist country difficulties may arise because they have to repay the debt not in their national currency but in the leading capitalist currencies. That is why every socialist country considers it an important economic objective to observe the right balance between the sum of current export earnings and the size of the foreign debt to be repaid in any given period.

The reactionary Western press has used the recent rise in the foreign debts of the socialist countries to sow doubts about their solvency. However, real financiers and businessmen understand that the hue and cry invariably raised over this matter by our ill-wishers is prompted by political considerations and the desire of certain quarters to impede normal commercial and economic ties between East and West.

Indeed, how can one talk of insolvency if, in 1985, according to the U.N. Economic Commission for Europe, the U.S.S.R. and other East European socialist countries spent under 9 per cent of their total exports paying interest on Western credits? And the total debts in most of these countries did not exceed their annual earnings from exports to capitalist countries. In 1985, according to the ECE, the indebtedness of the socialist countries to Western creditors has fallen because their exports have increased compared with the sum of the payments on credits.

It is another question that some quarters in the West are trying to put obstacles in the way of exports from the U.S.S.R. and other socialist countries and are making it more difficult for them to obtain ordinary credits applying embargoes and threatening to use sanctions.

As far as we are concerned, I can assure you that the countries of the socialist community are ready to promote mutually beneficial cooperation with capitalist countries.

POSTSCRIPT

Will It Help?

Abuse of office and unethical conduct is rife in the current Administration, U.S. Senator Gary Hart said recently. This has damaged the White House's reputation so badly that a group of Congressmen have tabled a bill to toughen the government ethics act. They were induced to do so after the scandal involving a former White House deputy chief of staff Michael Deaver who for a consideration exploited his connections to promote advantageous deals for certain foreign governments and U.S. corporations.

Simple



British MP Peter Bruinvels wants to see an end to driving licence abuses. "It's worrying and scandalous to think that banned drivers can be motoring up and down our streets with seemingly valid documents." He added that there were several ways in which licences could be acquired illegally. Some unauthorized drivers bought them from the legitimate holder,

others bought stolen ones or stole them themselves. Meanwhile the original holder can get a duplicate. All he has to do is apply for a new licence, stating that his old one has been lost.

The Return of the Night Watchman



In days of yore night watchmen known as serenos, hefty peasant lads wearing grey uniforms and swinging heavy clubs, used to patrol the streets of Madrid. Growing crime has revived this forgotten tradition. Serenos, the West Berlin Tagesspiegel reports, are again patrolling the city, again in grey uniforms but now equipped with modern rubber truncheons and walkie-talkies.

Seven-Year-Old Rebel

Referring to a health workers' report, the France-Presse Johannesburg correspondent notes that more than half of those killed by South African security police in the area of Capetown were shot in the back,

while one in nine had been fatally shot in the side. This means that they had probably turned to flee when the security forces opened fire, the report stresses. Of the victims, 12 per cent were under 15, while one was only seven years old.

These Changing Times

At the U.N. General Assembly's 40th session Washington's stance on most issues put to the vote was at the other end of the spectrum from that of the majority. On average, African, Asian-Pacific and Arab states saw eye to eye with the U.S. on only 15, 17 and 12 per cent of issues, respectively. Even in the Western Hemisphere Washington found support only in 23.7 per cent of cases. These eloquent figures, announced by Senator Robert Kasten, have irked the White House, which hankers nostalgically for those now distant days when the U.N. was run by the U.S. "voting machine."

Transport Problem



The reorganization of secondary schools in many British cities and towns has caused classrooms to be scattered in different buildings which are sometimes far apart, with the result that teachers barely make

it from lesson to lesson. Liverpool teachers, the Labour weekly Tribune notes, have demanded free transport, arguing that last year the town fathers paid taxi fares to distribute 31,000 dismissal notices.

Age of Enlightenment



According to the Belgian newspaper Le Soir, roughly half a million West Germans can neither read nor write, while another two million are unable to fill in a postal order or cheque.

Police Terrorism

Turkish police have arrested several Libyans and charged them with trying to dynamite the U.S. army officers' club in Ankara. Although there was no proof, the authorities have announced that the prisoners have confessed. However, according to Cumhuriyet, it transpired that the admissions were forced from the prisoners under torture. They were subjected to electric shocks, sandbagging, and had finger nails pulled out—all of which has been medically documented.

Drawings
by V. Rozantsev

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